

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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SOUTH INDIA

INDIA as a whole has begun a new phase in her history and Christians both inside and of India and also Christians throughout the world cannot be indifferent to the fate of these millions of people. Much prayer and wisdom is needed. South India is the most Christian part of India and is at present the scene of a Christian effort on the part of Protestants at Church Unity. To this *United Church* some Anglicans have joined themselves. Time will show whether this was a wise move, but it does show that a great desire for Christian Unity is stirring men's minds.

The bulk of the Christians in this district are Catholics (over a million) of three different rites, two Syrian and one Latin, and they are the descendants of the original Church in India that existed long before the days of St. Francis of Xavier. It seems fitting that we should devote one issue of the *E.C.Q.* to a closer study of these Indian Catholics of Syrian rites. Three articles are given over to this purpose. The first is by way of an introduction in a more popular vein by one who was stationed in India for three years and made the study of the Syrian Christians his business. In Delhi surrounding himself with Catholics and Jacobites and then going and living with a "Chaldean" Catholic family in Malabar.

The other two articles are by noted Indian Malabar priests of the East Syrian rite. In addition the Armenian priest in London has kindly written an article on the very ancient Armenian colony in India.

THE EDITOR.

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE CHRISTIANS OF SOUTH INDIA AND THEIR RITES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE EASTER CELEBRATION AT NORTH PARUR, NORTHERN TRAVANCORE

THERE is some confusion in many minds concerning the rites and divisions of the Christians of Travancore, and a brief account of these may help to clarify the situation.

As is well known the tradition is that St. Thomas landed on the coast of Malabar, not far from North Parur¹ and there began preaching. The only authority for St. Thomas's coming to India is the Syrian Acts of Judas Thomas. However doubtfully certain historians may regard this work, it is noteworthy that St. Augustine, while refuting the doctrinal errors contained in it, accepted the general account as true. In any case, the work only suggests that St. Thomas came to Northern India, and the only reasons to accept his having come to South India are the overwhelming tradition to this effect in the South which is held by the Christians there with the utmost tenacity, the shrine of his martyrdom at Mylapur, and an old, possibly seventh century cross on St. Thomas's Mount, Madras, which has a Pahlevi inscription. The fact also that there are a larger number of Christians in this area than in any other part of India may also point to the truth² of the tradition. However impossible it may be to maintain anything definite about St. Thomas, we know that about 525 A.D a Nestorian merchant, Cosmas Indicopleustes, arrived on the coast of Malabar. He found a flourishing Christian Church. Whether he tried to "Nestorianize" it we do not know, but we do know that two Nestorian bishops—Mar Saper and Mar Prodh arrived from Babylon about 825 A.D. and either introduced Nestorianism or developed that introduced by Cosmas. Then at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Dominican Jordanus came, on his way to China, and stayed to be first bishop of the Roman rite at Quilon. Thereafter—trouble. King Emmanuel of Portugal sent Vasco da Gama to trade, and the way was

¹ Properly: Paravoor, but pronounced Parur.

² Taking into account the fact that the Muslims while overrunning the north, never succeeded in penetrating far south.

open for unhappiness and Portuguese missionaries. The clumsiness and stupidity of these missionaries was incredible. They were not merely determined to bring the wandering Nestorians back into the Church but they were determined to do so by hook or by crook. They oppressed the unfortunate Nestorians in the most intolerable way. Had they resorted to the weapons of the Gospel only, things might have been easier for their present day successors, but they used force. The Syrians resisted this with as much strength as they could muster, but the pressure was too great, and the cowed and beaten Syrian archdeacon signed a document of submission to the pope, abjuration of Nestorianism and anathematization of the patriarch. On 20th June 1599, Archbishop Menezes opened the Synod of Diamper,¹ accompanied by a great concourse of persons, both lay and clerical, including the Portuguese Governor of Cochin, and finally in crept the crushed and unhappy archdeacon of the Syrians with his 153 priests and a group of laymen.

The fanatical, blind and overriding zeal of the archbishop brooked no word of protest, and the 300 or so Articles to which the Nestorians were to submit were rushed through without proper discussion, and the cowed and terrified "opposition" clergy were unable to raise a sound, except of agreement. On 26th June this terrible archbishop went in a great procession to church to give thanks to God for the success of his labours, while precious ancient liturgical works, Syriac regulations and documents on ecclesiastical subjects, roared up to heaven on the enormous burning fire of flames to which he had ordered they should be committed.

One result of Menezes behaviour was rebellion. A body of Syrians took an oath never to submit to the Church, and in consequence returned to Nestorianism. Having no bishops they applied for some to the patriarchs of Antioch, Babylon and Alexandria. At the end of the seventeenth century the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch sent them one, and the Nestorians of Malabar very quietly became Jacobites.²

About 1810 the British Resident—a certain Colonel Munro, who was interested in converting the poor heathen, especially those of apostolic origin, sent for the C.M.S. The Church

¹ Udayamperur.

² The arrival of the Carmelites in Malabar in 1656 was due to the dissatisfaction of the people under the Jesuit Archbishop Garcia, as a result of which many Christians left the Church. After the arrival of the Carmelites, within a short time, seventy churches made their submission. The superb work of the Carmelites still goes on.

Missionary Society duly arrived in the person of a man and his wife, and while doing much good by establishing hospitals and schools, wrought havoc almost worse than that of Archbishop Menezes by introducing the most corrupt doctrine.

There are now roughly four main divisions of Syrians in Malabar. The Catholic Syrians, the Jacobites who profess allegiance to the patriarch of Antioch, the C.M.S. Syrians, and what are known as the Mar Thoma Syrians. These last split from the Jacobites in 1875 or so, but claim to be the original body established by St. Thomas; they do not feel that 1875 is a rather late foundation date upon which to claim apostolicity.

The Jacobites acknowledge virtually all Catholic doctrine except the supremacy of the Pope. The C.M.S. Christians differ little from the form of Church of England sometimes known as "broad." The Mar Thomites are the Plymouth Brethren of the Syrian group, having come under external missionary influence of an extremely evangelical order. Their tenets seem regrettably unapostolic, like the date of their foundation. The bible is their sole rule of Faith, they condemn prayers to the dead and to saints, and as "we have full access to God by Faith," confession to a priest is anathema. They believe in justification by Faith *alone*, deny transubstantiation and of course all the sacrificial aspect of the Mass, and everything in this regard except a "commemorative act."

But this is only half the story. To complete the remaining half we must go back again to the year 345. It is believed that in this year a certain Armenian merchant, Thomas of Cana, visited the coast and finding large numbers of St. Thomas Christians, returned to Mesopotamia and reported concerning them to the Catholikos. It was decided to send about 400 people to Malabar as settlers to reinforce those already there. They are called Sudists.¹ Now, during the time of the Portuguese, and the later introduction of the Jacobites, some Sudists and their converts remained Catholics and others became Jacobites, but they had their own Syro-Chaldean rite.² The Catholics have kept this rite in a much Romanized form, and in the north of Travancore it is known as the Chaldean rite, and the churches as Chaldean churches.

¹ Literally South-ists, because they lived on the south side of the street when they were first allowed to settle.

² They believed that their ancestors were converted from Judaism and given the Syro-Chaldean rite by St. Thomas.

Thus we have two rites in Malabar. The first is the Antiochean rite which dates from the third century and includes the anaphora of St. James, and the second the Chaldean rite highly Romanized.¹ The head of the Catholics of the Antiochean rite is the Archbishop Mar Ivanios, concerning whose submission to the Catholic Church in 1930 with Bishop Mar Theophilus, about forty priests and two religious congregations readers of *E.C.Q.* are already aware. There are bishops of the Chaldean rite at Kottayam and Ernakulam. The Chaldean rite preserves Syriac as its Liturgical language, the Antiochean rite uses Syriac for the secret parts of the Liturgy, and Malayalam for the parts said or sung aloud.

As regards influence on the rites among the Chaldeans there is an unfortunate tendency not exactly to Romanize in the sense in which the word is usually employed, but to fail to realize that possessing an Eastern rite they should conform to the spirit of the Catholic East rather than attempt to absorb the Western point of view. Hence there is a desire among the clergy of this rite to have a Syriac translation of the Roman Breviary, because, largely, the Roman one indicates the saint of the day and so on, and the Syriac one does not. Also because the Syriac Breviary goes in a ten day cycle, and then begins at the beginning again. The rite itself has been pushed and pulled to fit a Roman framework, so that to some extent it looks like the Roman rite. Roman vestments are worn for instance, and apart from a double curtain which hangs closed before the sanctuary when the Liturgy is NOT in progress, the Chaldean churches have little to distinguish them from Western ones. Incense is used at every celebration, and although, as I have said, it looks like the Roman rite, everywhere and constantly, the river of Eastern beauty overflows the banks of Roman severity.

A further description of this rite will be given at the end of the article with an account of the Chaldean Easter celebrations.

The Antiochean rite of Malabar is scarcely at all Romanized. A crucifix instead of a cross has been added. The vestments

¹ For some curious reason many authorities refer to the first as the rite of Syro-Malankara and the second as the Syro-Malabarese rite. This seems ridiculous, as "Malankara" = "Malabar"; the result is a distinction of words with no distinction of meaning. Hence it would seem more sensible and correct to call the first the "Antiochean rite of Malabar" and the second the "Chaldean rite of Malabar."

are something like the Byzantine rite, but if anything more splendid. One distinctive feature of this rite is a curious wooden frame from which hangs a strip of cloth about 3 feet by 3 feet with a cross embroidered on the centre, and on the horizontal bar from which the cloth hangs is, in the centre, a wooden cross with, on either side, two small metal rods surmounted by a circle of metal, each circle about 9 inches high. [These circles are not unlike the top of the "flabellum" used sometimes in the Armenian rite]. This "screen" is removed from before the Altar at the beginning of Mass, but replaced from time to time during it, and incensed. There is also a curtain, which is opened and closed at certain times. Holy Communion in this rite may be given under one or both kinds. It is given in both kinds on feast days, and occasionally at other times. There are also con-celebrations.

One most striking thing about not only the clergy, but also the people of both these rites is the thoroughness of their Christianity. When talking to them, and living with them, it is as though the Apostles were still among them in the flesh, as though they were members of the primitive Christian Church.

This is a remarkable atmosphere and most impressive; one feels that if they were about to be whirled up to heaven in a fiery chariot, or about to be thrown to wild beasts for martyrdom, they would say: Why yes, of course; and continue with the conversation quietly and smilingly until the moment arrived.

It may be of interest to give figures concerning Christians in Travancore. I can, however, obtain nothing later than the 1931 census, and great strides have been made since then, but this will give some indication.

Catholics (all rites, including Latin)	809,390
Jacobites	337,872
Mar Thomites	142,486
Anglicans	85,261
Salvation Army	58,991
South India United Church	138,958
The rest, including several other sorts of Syrians	31,517

The total population of Travancore as given is 5,095,973. So that it will be seen that Christians form at least a fifth of the total population of the State.

It may be helpful as well as interesting to conclude by giving some account of the Easter celebrations at the Great Church of St. Thomas of the Syro-Chaldean rite at North Parur, as these give an insight into the character of the Christians themselves ; at the same time it would be most unwise to imagine that ordinary daily celebrations are accompanied with the same manifestations, as this is far from being the case.

Easter rites begin at 3 a.m., because of a tradition that our Lord rose from the dead at that hour. In the space in front of the church a huge crowd of people attempts gradually to go into church. The church itself is very large indeed, but the crowd is usually so big that it seems impossible that they should all get in. The church at Easter is always full to overflowing. The women sit behind a barrier of stone about 2 feet high built across the middle of the church, and all around, sitting cross-legged on the floor there is a tightly packed throng of brown faces, some smiling, some tired, and some small ones half asleep. The large double curtain hangs closed in front of the sanctuary, and there is an atmosphere of tense expectancy. When the parish priest in cope and biretta with the assistant priest come in, they have to step over the people in order to get to the sanctuary steps, where they stop. Up to this moment there is a good deal of noise in the church, but when the clergy stop before the sanctuary, there is silence. They begin the Easter "Alleluia." The chant is Indian and very surprising, not at all like that of the Antiochean rite of Malabar. [Something like this sort of music can be heard by twiddling the knobs of one's wireless until one gets the broadcast to the Arabs]. In time it is quite enjoyable, but at first it is a nightmare series of discordant noises. At the back of the church is a band and choir which together take up and repeat the Alleluia. There is a banging of drums, a blowing of flutes and of curious wood-wind instruments shaped like large spring onions, and a plucking of stringed instruments. The rite may have been Romanized, but nothing can take from it what the Indians have imparted to it, the marks of the character of the Malabarese. The Alleluia is sung three times. Then quite suddenly the sanctuary curtain is drawn back and in the middle of the sanctuary is a "tomb" made of black cloth placed over tresses ; more or less all lights are extinguished—slowly, with a spotlight focussed on it, there rises from within the tomb a statue of the Risen Christ, which

is, when fully "risen," placed on the side of the "tomb." As the statue comes to rest the drums are rolled, the wind instruments blown and the stringed instruments played. Outside the church fireworks are let off, crackers and miniature bombs, and there are explosions and whoops of joy. All the rubrics say is, that "a statue of the Risen Christ is to be placed in the sanctuary," but the Indian is not content with the bare act. There is then a procession round the town. The priest carries the Risen Christ, followed by hundreds of the faithful. A special band of trumpets and bugles accompanies this. All the banners and statues of the church are carried somewhere in the crowd, and all down the sides of the procession people carry sizzling paraffin-pressure lamps on their heads. The band strikes up—the first tune is often a highly Indianized version of the *Mar-sellaise*! And so with fireworks, lights and band playing the procession winds through the town and back to church for Mass.

The priest comes to the bottom of the altar steps as in the West, with the server on his left¹ and begins :—

"Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of His glory and the existence of His essence and the splendour of His glorious beauty, as saith the Lord: Heaven and earth are filled with me" . . .

Priest : Your commandment.

Server : The commandment of Christ.

They then say the Lord's Prayer, Psalm XIV and Psalm CL. The priest ascends to the altar, blesses the incense and says the Trisagion. There are various litanies, although their content is not much like those of other Eastern rites. Among interesting points the incensing of the chalice and paten may be noted. The server with thurible kneels on top step at the epistle side facing across the altar, and the priest, standing in the middle of the footpace, holds out the chalice with the bowl pointing down towards the server, who incenses it; the paten is also held with the face toward the server and incensed in the same way. There are many passages to which it would be well to draw attention, but for lack of space I will only mention three.

At the offertory the priest turns towards the people with the paten, saying : With expectation I have awaited for the Lord, with fear and trembling let us all offer to Him.

¹ This rite has a concelebration, called a Razah. It demands five priests and is only held on special occasions.

Shortly before the washing of the hands is a commemoration of St. Thomas and then :

Server : The Lord Almighty is with us ; our King is with us ; angels are with us, as also our Helper the God of Jacob.

Priest : The little in company with the great ! Behold, all the dead who have fallen asleep in Thy hope, and them Thou wouldest through Thy resurrection raise up again in Glory.

These are simply passages which appeal partly because of their beauty, partly because of the freshness of the thought, to those accustomed to the Roman rite. From the point of view of the Liturgist there are many other things more important, but an exact examination of the rite and its development has no place here.¹ There are several anaphoras and an epiklesis. On great feasts the fireworks, the choir, and band and shouts are all "let off" at the consecration, though needless to say, I can find nothing about this in the Rubrics.

There is one final passage to which I should like to draw attention, and that is the last prayer of the priest after the blessing, as he kisses the altar :—

" Remain thou in peace, O Altar of propitiation ; remain thou in peace, O sepulchre of our Lord. May the oblation I received from Thee avail for the forgiveness of my debts and the remission of my sins. I know not whether I shall come again to offer another sacrifice upon thee."

DOMINIC DE TURVILLE.

¹ Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is held in this rite with Syriac translations of *Tantum Ergo* and *O Salutaris*. *O Salutaris Hostia* however is sung after the blessing. Devotions for confession, communion and so on in the popular manuals are purely Roman, and of the Jesuit type. There is no space to go into the ritual of baptism, marriage, confirmation and so on.

THE SOCIAL AND SOCIO-ECCLESIASTICAL CUSTOMS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF INDIA

THE cry is heard nowadays that Christianity is a denationalizing force opposed to the cultural inheritance of Mother India. The mode of life adopted by some Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians has made such an impression even on the educated leaders of modern India. But the conditions obtaining among the Syrian Christians of India have quite a different impression to create.

The Syrian Christians now found almost everywhere in India have their home in Malabar or Kerala, chiefly in the two States of Cochin and Travancore. They are called *Syrians* not because they are descendants of foreigners from Syria, but because they perform their ecclesiastical ceremonies in the Syriac language. They are better known as *the St. Thomas Christians* since their origin goes back to those whom the Apostle Thomas made Christians in Malabar. Their national title is *Nazrani Mappilas*. *Nazrani* means Christian (=Nazareni) and *Mappila*, meaning "great or adopted son," is a title of honour believed to have been confirmed on them by the ancient rulers of Malabar. They share the title of *Mappila* in common with the Jews and Mohammedans of the country.

The Syrians of Malabar both Catholics and non-Catholics are socially divided into two groups, the *Northists* and *the Southists*. This division is believed to date back to the fourth century when a colony of foreign Christians settled down on the Malabar coast. The two groups as a rule do not inter-marry and possess certain distinctive traits and social customs.

From the religious point of view they are either Catholics or non-Catholics. The Catholics are of the latinized East Syrian or of the West Syrian (Antiochian) rite. The non-Catholics being Jacobites, Independent Jacobites, Reformed Jacobites or Nestorians follow the West Syrian (Antiochian) or the pure East Syrian rite. Difference in communion and rite has not greatly affected their social customs as such.

A brief survey of the social and socio-ecclesiastical customs of these Christians will show that Christianity has not destroyed, but has ennobled the Indian culture by absorbing and assimilating it into her externals.

1.—The *Jathakarma* or the feeding of the new-born babe with gold, honey and *vayampu* or with gold and ghee is still kept up among the well-to-do. The Syrian Christians of Thiruvancode in South Travancore still keep the ancient custom according to which as soon as a child is born the words *Maran Iso M'siba* (=Our Lord Jesus Christ) and the child's name are uttered into its ear. Paternal grandfather's or grandmother's name is given respectively to the first male or female child of a father. The second child likewise gets the name of the maternal grandfather or grandmother. Until recently the rite of *Annaprasam*, i.e., of administering boiled rice to the newly-born child after a lapse of some months from its birth was almost universally being kept up. For a Syrian child, as for a local Brahmin child, its father is *Appan*. Nairs and other castes call their fathers *Achan*. Children's heads used to be shaved clean, a tuft of hair (*Kuduma*) being left on the top. Children wear rings, bangles, garlands, etc., of different shapes. In the centre of garlands of male children there used to be a cross which was either the Greek cross or one with steps at the foot. Venetian and other coins were made use of for garlands of girls. Like the local Brahmin children, the Syrian Christian children used to wear ornaments made of toes of panther (*Pulinakam*) and teeth of mongoose (*Kirippallu*). Among those of Thiruvancode when a male child is baptized a *poonool* (sacred thread worn by Brahmins and some other castes) is blessed and put on the child. At home they put away this *poonool* until the child attains to boyhood when he is again given it to wear.

A boy or girl sent to *Kalari* (=school) for the first time was made to write in rice with his or her finger the first letters of the alphabet. This ceremony is known as *Ariyiliruthu*. The boy or girl had then to give presents to the *Asan* (—teacher). The rice also fell to the lot of the *Asan*. When the boy or girl had learnt up all the alphabet of the language, the *Asan* and the rest of the pupils were to be entertained with sweets. The boy or girl then began to learn prayers, arithmetic, etc. While learning the alphabets children had to write with the fingers in sand sitting on the ground using rectangular mats. The letters of the alphabet, prayers, etc., were all written on palm-leaves with an iron style by the *Asan* himself. Children also were taught to write on palm-leaves. From the eighth to the twenty-fifth year boys were trained also in the use of weapons. This system of education has almost died out by the advent of

primary, secondary and other schools. Both Hindus and Christians followed the same system in the same *Kalari* under the same *Asan* who often was a Hindu.

2.—The marriage ceremonies in several things reflect Hindu customs peculiar to the Syrian Christians. Many of these customs have fallen into disuse. The parents or the guardians of the bride or bridegroom choose the other party. The bride has to give a dowry to the bridegroom a portion of which sometimes takes the shape of ornaments for the former. A sum equal to ten per cent of the dowry is given to the Church for the maintenance of the church and its ministers. The maternal uncle of the bride has a great part in making arrangements for the marriage. There are many formalities to be kept while the parents or guardians go in search of brides or bridegrooms. After everything has been arranged with regard to the dowry, ornaments etc., there takes place at the house of the would-be bride a banquet at which a few select men from the other side take part. Before the banquet, dues are to be remitted to the church, and the parish priests should be duly informed of the contract. The custom still obtains in some parts according to which the parents or guardians make the contract for the future marriage, the one holding the other's right hand with his own, before the sanctuary lamp and in the presence of the parish priest. In olden days the contract had to be written on a fresh palm-leaf and signed by those concerned.

The bride and bridegroom accompanied by their assistants bathe during the night previous to the marriage celebration. If the bridegroom has a brother-in-law it is his right to conduct the former to the bathing place. In former times it was immediately before this ceremonial bath that the bridegroom had to shave his face for the first time, being seated on a low bench in the *pandol* erected in front of the house. The barber's presence was indispensable, and he had to ask and get permission from the ancients who would sit in the *pandol* on a raised platform covered with black and white cloths. The white cloth spread on the low bench on which the bridegroom sits would fall to the lot of the barber. National songs commemorating the origin of the Syrian Christians, their privileges, etc., were to be sung both before and after bath. The women folk would take great interest in this. After bath the nails of the hands and feet of the boy and girl were to be smeared with the juice of a

shrub called *Mailanchi*—a sign of sexual attraction and fecundity. Then they are greeted with sweets in the *pandol*. A close female relative has to perform this function with the permission of the ancients who could mercilessly request her to repeat the customary formula of asking permission under the pretext that she did not speak loud enough. The same ceremony has to be gone through in taking back the remnants of the sweets.

In the early morning the parties proceed to the church. Before proceeding each receives the blessing of the *Asan* who taught him or her the letters of the alphabet. Thus Hindu *Asan* could be seen giving their blessing to Christian boys or girls. The *Asan* is also given rich presents. The boy and the girl used to be loaded with ornaments. The bride's chief ornament was a golden covering for the forehead and those of the bridegroom a gold crown and a gold pectorial cross, which former could be substituted by an ornamental cap or turban. The bridegroom in former days wore silk clothes and an ornamental silk coat reaching down to his knees. He also wore a knife and iron style suspended on a silver chain tied round the waist. The jacket of the bride used to be of coloured silk. It was in the midst of instrumental music that they were to be conducted to the church. The boy and girl used to be accompanied respectively by a younger boy and girl festively dressed.

In the church in the presence of the priest the boy ties the *Thali* or *minnu* round the neck of the girl. It is a small gold ornament with a cross on one side. It is prepared by the goldsmith with gold which the father of the boy ceremoniously hands over to the former. The cross formed of twenty-one small gold balls distinguishes the Christian *Thali* from the *Thali* of certain Hindus. The shape of the *Thali* of the Northists is different from that of the *Thali* of the Southists. In some places the girl kneels down when the boy ties the *Thali* round her neck. The *Thali* goes to the treasury of the church after the death of the husband or of the wife. The tying of the *Thali* is followed by the presenting of the veil to the girl by the boy. Both the *Thali* and the veil are blessed by the priest. They may then also be greeted with sweets in the church. In former times the *Thali*, veil and the special kind of sweets reserved for the clergy, used to be taken to the church in solemn procession by the sister of the bridegroom on the day previous to the marriage celebration.

From the church the marriage procession used to proceed

on elephant's back or on palanquins with the traditional Indian music and with shoutings of joy known as *Nadavili*, *Kurava*, etc. The *muthukkuda* and other umbrellas that are emblems of royalty, the Syrian Christians still use especially on marriage occasions. The party must be received by the boy's mother holding in one hand water and paddy and in the other a lighted lamp. The couple would then be seated on a decorated platform and would be treated with sweets. In former times music and dancing took place after this. Even today among the Southists the girl's mother at this stage gives her blessing to the couple placing her hands over their heads.

Next comes the banquet at which the guests take part. When the guests have already began to eat, *Panan*, a lowcaste Hindu, suddenly makes his appearance, and clearing his throat sings of the origin and of the privileges of the Syrian Christians. *Panan* is then given his share.

There used to be on the second or third day another ceremony at which *Panan* would shout with a loud voice and would hold aloft a *muthukkuda* (a kind of silken umbrella) under which the couple would remain for awhile standing on a low bench.

There are other ceremonies also to be gone through during these days. The chief among them is *Adachuthura* (=shutting and opening) performed generally on the third or on the fourth day after the marriage. The bridegroom and his friends would remain shut up in a room. The mother-in-law would knock at the door entreating the bridegroom to come out and take bath. The friends of the bridegroom would not open the door unless she would promise to give a cow, gold, etc., to the bridegroom. All these are acted in songs.

All the above-mentioned ceremonies are substantially the same among the Northists and Southists. Among the Southists there is what is called the accepting of *Illappanam* (=tribal money), i.e., when a girl of one tribe (*Illam*) is married to another tribe (the Southists are divided into seven tribes), the tribe that gives over the girl is entitled to a sum of money called *Illappanam*. Another speciality among the Southists is that two of them, say the bridegroom and a paternal male relative, eat from the same leaf sitting on either side of it.

The festivities of the first three or four days may take place in the house of the bride or of the bridegroom. After the third or the fourth day the couple goes to the other house

and remains there till the next Sunday. The bride when she goes to the other house puts on vestments presented by the parents of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom likewise wears those presented by the bride's parents. Before starting there is banquet as usual and presenting of clothes with embraces to the maternal uncle of the bride. The bridegroom and the bride, each accompanied by friends, go round a lighted lamp kept in the pandal and recite prayers. Those present apologize to one another for any offence that might have been caused by them during the festivities. Then they start for the other house whither they are solemnly conducted. The next Sunday they are taken back and the marriage festivities end.

The bride and the bridegroom make rich presents to their servants and subordinates. In the first year of the marriage the bridegroom is invited to the bride's house for Christmas and Easter.

Nowadays all these festivities are simplified so as to end in a day or two. In former days the Syrian Christian dance called *Margamkali*, action songs etc., were performed during these festive days.

3.—When the time of the first confinement approaches the girl is taken to her parental home. Immediately after child-birth messengers are sent to the husband's house to announce the birth of the child. They would be given presents there. The mother after child-birth was considered unclean according to the Jewish custom.

Those that brought the girl for the confinement must take her back to her husband's house. Then the child is given ornaments, and the young mother bronze vessels with a cow and a calf—all these the mother-in-law had promised to the bridegroom in the *Adachuthura* ceremony. Those that accompany the young mother are presented with rich clothes. As a rule when the girl, whenever she comes back from her parents, brings sweets to her husband.

4.—The Syrian Christian men in no way differ from their Hindu brethren in their dress. They wear *mundu* and a towel big or small. The *mundu*, a rectangular piece of cloth, is fastened round the waist and it reaches the ankles. The towel is thrown carelessly over the shoulders. Of late the fashion of putting on a loose shirt often without a coat has come into vogue. Some of the educated wear coats, trousers and hats. But at home they keep to the national way of dressing.

Women generally wear jackets which reach from their necks below the waist, and a cloth descends from thence nearly touching the ankles. This cloth was sometimes worn with two fan-like appendices, one in front and the other in the back after the fashion of local Brahmin ladies. But now only the back fan is preserved. When they go to church or visit their priests they cover themselves with a long muslim scarf which is put over their heads ; and it reaches to the ground leaving only their faces visible. Nowadays outside the church this scarf is converted into a kind of half saree. Some have now begun to use sarees.

Until very recently the rule was that all should put on white vestments when going to church. But now a change is seen owing to the use of coloured shirts and sarees.

Till the year 1599 the Syrian Christian males invariably grew a tuft of hair on their heads and wore also earings. They could be distinguished from their non-Christian brethren by the cross which they sometimes fastened to the locks of their hair. As Gouveas says "the Christians alone, when they married, were allowed to wear the hair of their head tied with a golden flower." After 1599 the males, as a rule, used periodically to shave their heads and faces clean. Only very few keep to this custom now. Those, however, of Thiruvancode still keep the tuft of hair on their heads, put on earings, wear the *poonool* (sacred thread) etc. Their women are dressed like Tamil ladies.

Women have long hair parted into two and kept neatly tied up in the back. They bore the lobes of their ears. Special ornaments are used for the ears. All these are now giving place to more simple ornaments. Rings, garlands, anklets, beads, etc., were ornaments of women. Well-to-do elderly women in former times used to wear a kind of garland consisting of images of saints.

Until very recent times in some parts of Malabar Syrian Christian women, when out of their houses, used to cover themselves with big palm-leaf umbrellas as do the local Brahmin ladies. In former times they also used to paint their eyelids black as do their Hindu sisters.

5.—In the country parts each plot of ground surrounded by fences or walls, has a house in the centre built according to the rules of Malabar Hindu architecture. There is a courtyard in front of the house and at one side of the courtyard there is a well. The floor of the house is painted with cow-dung. The father of the house is supreme in all things. The women-

folk keep themselves inside and at the back of the house and they never appear before strangers unless specially called for. Wives do not eat with their husbands. Only in very rare cases do grown-up boys sit at meals with their fathers. Children never sit in the presence of their fathers. Males and females never sit together for meals.

Guests are to be offered water first in order to wash their feet then they are given seats which are small mats or low four-legged benches or rectangular plants. Cots or sofas with mats are offered to more honourable guests. Well-to-do people now use benches and chairs also. Guests are then entertained with *pansupari*. Only persons of the same social status are admitted as guests to eat with the members of the family.

6.—Generally they take three meals a day. In the morning *canji* (=boiled rice with rice-water) is taken with curry. At noon they take rice and curries, and at night rice or *canji* with curries. Coffee with sweets is now taking the place of the morning meals, and coffee or tea with sweets is becoming a fashion in the afternoon. On ordinary days well-to-do people use cups and plates. The poor are content with earthen vessels. Every morning all the vessels of the house are cleansed with ashes and washed. They take their meals squatting on the ground.

On feast days all keep to the national custom of eating in plantain leaves that are folded into two to signify that they are entitled to use two leaves like the high caste people of the country. All in a row squat on a long mat. They begin and end the meals at the signal of the one who is the oldest and who sits at the head. They are very strict to see that only persons of the same status sit together for meals. In this not richness or poverty, but family antiquity is taken into consideration. Men and women sit separate. Salt is served first. Then follow rice, curries, butter-milk and sweets with fruit. In certain feasts celebrated in commemoration of the dead sweets are served before rice. In all feasts a small quantity of rice with curd, molasses or sugar and plantain is served at the end. In washing the hands before and after the meals, in drinking butter-milk, etc., there are many formalities to be kept. A very few on very rare occasions eat in the European way with spoon, fork and knife. But the national and the most common way of eating is with the fingers. In former times the beef and pork were scrupulously avoided. The Syrian Christians have special

preparations of curtain curries and sweets. Certain kinds of sweets are common to them and to the local Brahmins.

7.—Before the Synod of Diamper, 1599, only male issues were given inheritance. The females were all given dowries. If a father had no male issue, he would not divide his property among his daughters (as he does now) but would give it to a male relation though the latter were of a very distant relationship. This sort of adoption used to take place before the bishop. Now as a rule, in the absence of male children, a daughter is kept at home with her husband to inherit the whole or a portion of the father's property. Like the local Brahmins the Syrian Christians follow the patriarchal system.

8.—What follow the death of a Syrian Christian are all Hindu customs duly Christianized. The dead are washed and dressed. No food is cooked or eaten in the house where death occurs, until the dead body is buried. Children are given food in the neighbouring houses. Low-caste people perform for several days public mourning for which they are paid. The relatives have to cover the dead body with clothes. After the burial is over, there is a feast in the house of the deceased at which only vegetables are permitted. If the deceased has sons-in-law it belongs to them to meet a part of the expenses of this feast. It is their women-folk who are to console and feed the women-folk of the house where death has occurred. Southists in some places even today keep to the tender cocoanut ceremony both for this and for the *Pulakuli* feast of which we shall speak presently. The priest blesses a tender cocoanut and drinks a little of its water. Then it is handed over to the relatives of the deceased who likewise drink of it in turn. As a rule women do not accompany the dead body to the burial place.

When the above-mentioned feast is over, with the counsel of the parish priest the day for the *Pulakuli* feast, its expenses, etc., are fixed. The sons-in-law of the deceased have to meet a portion of the expenses of this feast also. This feast signified, as the name *Pula* (=pollution) connotes, that the relatives of the deceased who were polluted by the later's death, were purified by *Kuli* (=bath), which *kuli* took place on the night previous to the feast. The *Pula* lasted for seven days and hence the feast generally would fall on the eighth day. Sometimes it would be transferred to a near date. Nowadays only the feast is kept up; the observance of pollution and the ceremonial bath have been abolished.

Only vegetables could be used for this feast. Different kinds of vegetable curries, puddings and sweets are its speciality. In the social gathering of the Southists held in March 1939 at S.H. Mount, Kottayam, it was decided to abolish this feast from the Southist community. The feast, no doubt, is a Christianized Hindu observance.

In former times there used to be similar feasts on the day following the *Pulakuli* feast, on the seventeenth day after death, on the forty-first day as well as in the eleventh month. The anniversary of death is commemorated by a feast called *Sradha*. Fish and flesh are permitted for *Sradha*. *Sradha* is sometimes repeated every year, the son performing it for his parents. Generally parents who are alive do not celebrate these feasts in commemoration of their deceased children. The sweets for the *Sradha*, known as *Neyyapam* (a local Brahmin speciality) are to be brought from the houses of the sons-in-law of the departed.

All these feasts take place in the house of the deceased after the ecclesiastical functions have been performed in the church. Numbers of poor people are sumptuously fed. Priests too take part in the feasts and they pray for the deceased together with the whole assembly. They are given presents in the shape of clothes and money. Each person invited has to bring a coin which he has to offer in the bronze plate placed before the parish priest by the ancestor of the family. After offering the coin each one accepts the *pax* from the parish priest. Women do not accept the *pax*, but reverentially say to the priest with joint hands "Praised be Jesus Christ"—this is the customary formula by which priests and elders are saluted. Part of the money collected from the offerings of those invited is utilized for church functions for the repose of the soul of the departed. The other part goes to the priest and his attendants.

In the *Pulakuli* feast, near the plate in which the invitees make their offering, there is placed another plate containing ordinary cummin. Each one of the offerers takes and chews two or three grains of this cummin. In former times ashes used to be placed in like manner for *Sradha*; but among Catholic Syrians it was prohibited by ecclesiastical authorities who were of the Latin rite.

9.—In former times the Syrian Christians kept the rules of untouchability. They bathed before meals if they happened to touch or go near a low-caste man or woman. Low-caste people were kept out of their houses and even courtyards. They took ablutions even before the fasts prescribed

by the Church. The touch of a low-caste man or woman was considered to break the fast. Tanks polluted were to be emptied and filled again. Pagan kings and high-caste Hindus often sought the friendship of the Syrian Christians since it was believed that the touch of a Syrian Christian could purify ghee, oil and other things polluted by the presence of low-caste people. La Croze in his *Christianisme aux Indes* (1723) says : "In order to preserve their nobility the Christians never touch a person of inferior caste, not even a Nair. In the roads or streets they cry out from a distance in order to receive precedence from passengers, and if anyone even a Nair, should refuse this mark of respect, they are entitled to kill him on the spot. The Nairs who are the nobility and warriors of Malabar respect the Syrian Christians very highly and consider it a great honour to be regarded as their brethren." Documents kept in certain Syrian Christian families show that some Syrian Christians held the trusteeship of certain Hindu temples and that they were invited for the feast of the Hindu temples. These and similar things though not Christian, indicate however that Christianity was not considered a denationalizing force even by the high-caste Hindus of Malabar. Copper-plate grants kept in the custody of the Syrian Christians are clear a proof that the ancient Hindu rulers of Malabar had acknowledged their high social position.

10.—Tradition says that as early as the fourth century the Syrian Christians were enjoying great privileges conferred upon them by Cheraman Perumal the emperor of Malabar. Says Gouveas : "On account of the privileges and honours conferred by the Perumal on the Christians, they were looked upon as the superior and ancient nobility of Malabar. They were given the first place and were far superior to the Nairs who were chiefs and nobles of the country. Owing to this reason, Christians who set out for commercial purposes from foreign countries like Persia, Armenia and Alexandria and other places were glad to come to Malabar and live among the St. Thomas Christians, finding always good hospitality, fraternity and communication . . ." Thus the Syrian Christians could ride on elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of kings, could sit on carpets before the king, could construct gates with roofs etc. Tradition says that they had seventy-two such enviable privileges.

The Syrian Christians of Malabar, moreover, were protectors of seventeen low-castes. So they were called "lords

of seventeen castes." They could try all their cases and could inflict even capital punishment within a certain territory near Cranganore. These low-caste people on the other hand undertook to defend their Christian lords and to vindicate their rights before kings and chieftains, first by entreaties and non-violence, and then by inflicting on themselves wounds and even death. During the time of harvest and on occasions of marriages, feasts, etc., these were given ample remuneration in the shape of paddy and rice which they claimed as their right. The Papal Legate Marignoli (1348) says that the St. Thomas Christians were the masters of public weighing office (qui habent stateram ponder istotius mundi).

The Syrians were skilled warriors and their bishops used to go about accompanied by soldiers. The bishops heard and decided all cases among them. They had also a king of their own. The Christian dynasty became extinct before the arrival of the Portuguese. Gouveas says: ". . . and in token of the vassalage they wished to give to the king of Portugal, they sent him a red staff, garnished at the ends with silver and having at the top three silver bells, which was the sceptre used by their kings whom they had recently lost."

11.—As Gouveas says the Syrian churches "were built after the fashion of heathen pagodas." The churches were built with stone or wood. A Syrian church was a rectangular building facing the west with the hind part raised a little from the rest of the building. There were side doors with a main opening to the west. There was no façade proper: instead, on the front wall there used to be embossed figures of mermen or other animals which in some cases could be seen on the back also. Figures of elephants, lotus flower, etc., were to be seen carved both inside and outside the churches. Over the roof both at the eastern and western ends there would be crosses, the one at the east end being smaller and often encircled by a ring. Through Portuguese influence many of the old churches were reconstructed with façades. Nevertheless a few could still be seen in the pre-Portuguese style.

Churches were built and endowed by the faithful. Sometimes pagan kings also did the same. Even today the governments of Cochin and Travancore give allowance for maintenance of certain ancient churches.

Men always occupied the front place in the nave. Women would take their place in the back. There were no pews. They would stand or sit on the floor.

In front of the church at a convenient distance there is an open-air cross. Church processions go round this cross and then make a round of the church, this sometimes thrice. Priests taking part in the procession used to carry small crosses in their hands which laymen would devoutly kiss. Crosses after the fashion of the Mount Cross, Madras were very common in churches and even in private houses. They resembled the Portuguese Equestrian Cross of the Order "de Avis."

All the musical instruments, different kinds of umbrellas, torches, pop-guns and other paraphernalia used for processions and feasts in Hindu temples are used in churches also. The lamps and lights used in temples and churches are all similar. During processions flowers or "beetle" leaves are thrown high up into the air as do the Hindus in their processions. Hoisting of the flag is the beginning of solemn feasts both in Hindu temples and Christian churches. In some places there are permanent flag-staffs constructed after the fashion of those kept in Hindu temples. It may be noted here that some of the ancient churches are built in close contact with Hindu temples. Ecclesiastical authorities had often to order that church-paraphernalia were not to be lent for temple purposes. In some places temple elephants used to be sent to enhance festivities in Christian churches.

On feast-days people make offerings in churches in the shape of money, fowls, sweets, etc. The offerers are given back a small quantity of some eatables which they devoutly receive and eat. This is an exact imitation of the *prasad* given to devotees in Hindu temples. The signification is that God is pleased with the offering as a token of which through human agency He gives to the devotee something to eat.

In the administration of the temporalities of Syrian churches one could easily detect that it is a Christianized form of the one carried on in Hindu temples with the aid of trustees and a board of consultors.

In fulfilment of vows the Syrians distribute sweets and other edibles in the church. All, the rich not excluded, partake of them. In older days priests used to sit in the sanctuary and eat of these offerings. All the clergy attached to the church receive their share. The shares of absent clergymen are sent to their houses. Similar offerings take place in private houses also in the presence of priests.

On Holy Thursday after supper the head of the family

breaks unleavened bread specially prepared for the occasion, and distributes it after dipping it in a liquid made of cocoanut milk and jaggery. All the members of the family according to their seniority receive it from the giver, and consume it devoutly. In some places this custom is observed also on two other days during the Lent. If anyone dies in a family, bread and sweet liquid will not be prepared there that year ; the neighbouring families will send them and there will be no solemnity observed in consuming them. In some places on Palm Sunday special sweets are prepared and eaten, but with no solemnity.

12.—The extra-liturgical dress of priests consisted of a pair of loose trousers, a loose chemis reaching down the knees with wide sleeves and a sailor's collar. To these was added a sufficiently big towel coloured or otherwise thrown carelessly over the shoulders. Non-Catholics still keep to this mode of dressing.

Priests were generally ordained for parishes, and so the parishioners would assemble together and vote for the candidates. They would present the candidates to the bishop with a letter patent. The letter patent was an implicit promise that they would maintain and support the candidates. The senior most priest in a church would manage the affairs of the church as *Primas inter pares*. The Jacobites still follow this custom to a very great extent.

In the above lines we have attempted a very brief survey of the social and socio-ecclesiastical customs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The subject being very vast we could only touch upon some of its more important points. Although these customs are substantially the same everywhere, still there is difference of details between community and community, as well as between members of the same community living in different places. We have here concentrated our attention on the Catholic Syrians of the Northist community existing in a certain locality with which we are personally acquainted. Some of the above-mentioned customs have become obsolete while some others are gradually losing their hold on the Syrians. Nevertheless the Syrian Christians as a body love to preserve them as far as the modern ways of life permit them. In this Christianity is their firm support.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Syrian Christian culture of India is predominantly Indian in its origin and development. Nineteen centuries of Christianity have only protected and developed the Indian culture the

Syrians have possessed from the very beginning. They are not less Christian in belief because they are Indian in culture; nor are they less Indian in culture because they are Christian in belief. For, as Jacques Maritain has remarked, true Christianity "transcends every civilization and culture. It is the supreme beneficent and animating principle of all civilizations and cultures while in itself independent of them all, free, universal, strictly universal, Catholic."

Changanacherry,
South India.

FATHER PLACID, T.O.C.D.

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THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE OF THE SYRIAN CATHOLICS OF MALABAR

THE Syrian church of Malabar founded by St. Thomas the Apostle, who preached also in other parts of India, and reinforced by a later influx of the Syriac-speaking Christian emigrants from Mesopotamia in the fourth and the eighth centuries, had no chances of expansion and missionary activities equal to her Apostolic origin, and age-long adherence to orthodoxy.¹ The close contact and later mingling with the emigrants, who came with bishops and priests for the administration of their spiritual needs, helped the church of Malabar to proceed with, and to become perfect in, the use of the East-Syrian liturgy, which is believed to have been received at the hands of her founder, and to foster close relations with the East-Syrian church of Mesopotamia. While the influence of widespread Buddhism and the renascence (renaissance) of Hinduism checked the growth of Christian faith in the

¹ Schurhamnar, S.J.; Hoopert, S.J.

Northern and Western parts of India, where it gradually became extinct by the fifteenth century, only to be revived by the efforts of the Latin missionaries from the West since the sixteenth or possibly seventeenth century, that scion of Faith in Malabar with its Syriac liturgy and traditions, passing through trying circumstances of religio-political upheavals and internal concussions survives to the present day and proffers the greatest majority of the Syrian-Christians—Catholic or dissident—of the world. Unstained by the heretical teachings of Nestorianism that swept over almost the whole of the East Syrian church, and unaffected by those of Jacobitism that agglutinated the whole of the West-Syrian church, except, perhaps, the church of Libanon, the church of Malabar remained true to the genuine faith she received from the lips of her apostolic founder till the seventeenth century, when, accused of Nestorian heresy she was misrepresented and severely dealt with by the Portuguese missionaries, who, led by political ambitions rather than, religious motives, brought her under their jurisdiction. The breach between the Portuguese lords and the Syrian subjects gradually became wider and resulted in the ever lamentable tragedy of “the Coonan Cross Oath” refusing allegiance to the Jesuit authorities and in the eventual fall of a great majority of the dissentors to the Jacobite schism, whence they were in course of time further divided and addicted to various heretical sects.

It is a well-known fact and it is traditionally admitted that the Apostle St. Thomas on his mission baptized high-caste Hindus and members of royal families, who constituted the first Syrian Christian community of Malabar. The low-castes, according to Hindu conception, considered as untouchables, were not admitted to the noble Christian community until the sixteenth century. The Christians of St. Thomas kept the privileges and prestige of the high-caste Hindus: they had caste-observances, which are found even at the present day among the Syrian Christians of Kunnankulam in North Malabar, and among the recent Latin communities in other parts of India. It was because of the fear of their social degradation rather than want of sympathy for the poor low-castes that the early Christians of Malabar did not attempt to spread their religion among the untouchables.

The Oriental branch of the Syrian church—the East Syrian church—with headquarters at Seleucia-Ctesiphon

carried on the work of evangelization to the farthest parts of Asia as far as Japan and the Philippine Islands while the East Syrians of Malabar, being a detached body subject to Socio-communal restrictions, could not bring the light of the Gospel even to the reach of their very natives, who were characterized by a low-birth on the basis of caste differences.

Possibly it was through the influence and after the example of the Latin missionaries in the sixteenth century that the Syrians of Malabar began with the evangelization of the depressed classes. This new move caused them to be defied by high-caste Hindus, who gradually excluded them from their social and political circles.

The Latin missionaries—Jesuits, Carmelites and Franciscans—were making converts from among the low-caste Hindus and were admitting them to the already existing Syrian parishes, over which they had attained jurisdiction. The new converts in their turn were much favoured by the missionaries, who possibly were aiming at forming a Latin community in Malabar. Led by this idea they even attempted to latinize the Syrian National Church of Malabar. Under such circumstances a few Syrian churches were made over to the newly converted Latin Christians while a few others together with their Syrian parishioners were completely latinized. The latinized Syrians, whose identity with the Syrian folk is multifariously conspicuous, distinguish themselves for nobility in the Latin dioceses of Malabar even to the present day.

With this background we shall proceed with the missionary activities of the Syrian Catholics of Malabar, which may be viewed under two aspects—mission to the dissidents and mission to the infidels.

Mission to the dissidents. Ever since the origin of the schism in the seventeenth century the leaders of the Catholic party, either aided by the Latin missionaries or independently, have worked ardently to bring their dissident brethren back to the Catholic Church. The two Syrian priests—Alexandar Palliveettil (afterwards Bishop Alexandar de Campo) and Alexandar Kadavil—were the pioneers in this field of work. They worked first with the Carmelite Joseph Sebastiany, the Apostolic Commissary (1655) for the reunion of Archdeacon Thomas I, the first head of the Schismatic Church of Malabar. Though the archdeacon could not be won back because of his excessive demands, the influence and zeal of Bishop Alexandar de Campo, the first indigenous

Vicar Apostolic of Malabar (1663-87) since Latin intervention, succeeded with the assistance of his former companion and collaborator, Fr. Alexandar Kadavil, in bringing into union with the Catholic Church, according to Raulin, seventy-five per cent of the one hundred and fourteen parishes that stood on the side of the archdeacon.

This movement was followed by the approach to Rome of the two archdeacons, Thomas IV (1688-1728) and Thomas V (1728-65) through personal representations, with a view to end the schism and to be united with the Catholic Church. But, unfortunately, due, perhaps, to the want of sympathy and support on the part of the Latin ecclesiastical authorities in Malabar, this attempt also did not come to a successful end.

Then, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century there originated a very strong movement for the reunion of the Jacobites, who, at that time counted more than 50,000 souls under their leader, Archdeacon Mar Thomas VI, alias, Mar-Dionysius I. Dr. Joseph Kariyáttty, with permission from Bishop Francis Sales, the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly (under whose authority the Syrians then were) made arrangements with the leader of the dissidents, and started on a long perilous journey to Rome (1778) accompanied by Fr. Thomas Páremmakkal in order to get orders from the Holy See to receive Mar Thomas VI and his followers into the Catholic fold. Despite the unfavourable reports of the Latin missionaries working in Malabar, Pope Clement XI granted him permission (1785) to receive Mar Thomas VI as a bishop. On his way to and from Rome Dr. Kariyáttty had to halt in Portugal for a considerable period of time. During his stay in Portugal he was consecrated archbishop of Malabar in 1783. Returning from Portugal (1785) he reached Goa (1786), the Portuguese headquarters in India, when he died after three months. Thus did Dr. Joseph Kariyáttty, the first indigenous Catholic Syrian Archbishop of the National Church of Malabar sacrifice his life for the reunion of his dissident brethren, and came to be ranked, so to say, as the first martyr of apostolic work among the Jacobites of Malabar, to be shewn to future generations as a model of apostolic zeal and courage, and of fraternal charity and thirst for souls.

Though Dr. Kariyáttty could not achieve the reunion of the Jacobites, for which cause he laboured hard and made an eight-year journey, his companion Fr. Thomas Páremmakkal, who afterwards was made the administrator of the

archdiocese of Cranganore, continued the work and with the resourcefulness and influence of one most reputed men of the time, Thachil Mathew-Tharakan, whose manifold and beneficial services to the State the Travancore Government should ever thankfully acknowledge, got Mar Thomas VI to his side. Yet, it was only three months after the death of Fr. Páremmakkal that he was received to the Catholic Church at the Church of Thathanpally in North Travancore (1799). But his reunion was short lived. As the bishop of Cochin, who, then, was wielding some power over the Syrians, with a view to perpetuate the Latin domination over the Syrians, it is alleged, stood against his continuing as a bishop he reverted to the schism with his followers and eventually entered into friendly relations with the protestant missionaries.

The next champion of the reunion movement was found in the person of Fr Emmanuel Nidiry,¹ an able and erudite leader of the Nordist party of the Syrian Catholics after 1875, who, as vicar general of Dr. Lovigne (1887-96) worked for the reunion of the Jacobites. For this end, with the counsel and consent of the Jacobite leader, Mar Dionysius V (1866-1909) he organized a social union committee with its headquarters at Kottayam. For the working of the union he purchased an extensive site and raised a decent fund getting contributions almost entirely from the Catholics. Consequently there were started on the same site a high school for training Christian youth and a paper for the diffusion of Christian literature permeated with Catholic ideas. Accompanied by Fr. Alexandar Kattakayam of Pálai, he took Mar Dionysius V to Mgr. Andrews Ayutti, the then Apostolic Delegate of India, who gave them a warm welcome. Mar Dionysius expressed his desire to be in union with the Catholic Church, and he swore before the delegate that he would embrace the Catholic faith even at the risk of losing his attractive possessions and influential position. But the reckless prelate was not firm in his resolution. As the tide in the Jacobite church turned more favourable to him he withdrew from his promise and conferring with his partisans even managed to bring the common property and funds under the sole possession of the Jacobites. The undaunted spirit of Fr. Nidiry was not to be put out

¹ Fr. Nidiry (d. 1903) belonged to the parish of Kuravilangad, which produced Dr. Alexandar de Campo and the first rulers of the dissident party from 1655 to 1810.

by such deceptive experiences. As a result of his individual approaches he could convert a few (5?) Jacobite priests, whom Dr. Lovigne, Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam¹ (1887-96) received into the Catholic Church, allowing them to continue with the Antiochene Liturgy, which they were accustomed to, with, of course, necessary corrections. But before long they left the Catholic Church, as they found it hard to continue therein without resuming some of the abominable practices they had long been indulged in.

The missionary enterprise among the dissidents assumed a new phase since 1896, when the Syrian dioceses were entrusted to the indigenous prelates. Mar Aloysius Paré-parampil, who, as a simple priest, was, on several occasions working with Fr. Nidiry for the reunion of the Jacobites, after becoming the Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam took much interest in that Apostolic work. He ordered a prayer to be recited in all the churches and religious houses in his diocese. His successor and the present archbishop² of Ernakulam, Dr. Agustine Kandathil, made further advancement and founded (1921) a missionary congregation including priests and laymen, who, under the able directorship of Mgr. J. C. Panji-Karen, work to the present day among the non-Catholics and non-Christians at various centres within the limits of the archdiocese.

The work towards the reunion of the Jacobites formally started by the late Rev. Fr. Dominic Thóttácherry, M.A. (whose zeal for souls is still highly admired by the dissidents as well as Catholics) at the orders of the saintly prelate, Dr. Thomas Kurialacherry, the late lamented bishop of Changanacherry, has at present developed so much as to carry on propaganda work in not less than twenty Jacobite centres. Fr. Mottacherry built several churches for the uniates. They were later on ceded to the diocese of Tiruvella, and one of them was made a cathedral.

¹ The Syrians were separated from the Latin domination of the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly in 1887, when the two Vicariates Apostolic—Trichur and Kottayam—were created for them. Dr. Lovigne, S.J. ; the Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam, had his residence at Changanacherry : consequently the diocese was called after that name since 1896, when the Syrian Catholics were grouped into three ecclesiastical units—Trichur, Changanacherry and Ernakulam. In 1911 a new Vicariate (novum Vicariatum) was created for the Sudists (pro gente Sudistica), who were confined to the limits of the dioceses of Changanacherry and Ernakulam. The East Syrian Hierarchy was restored in 1923, raising Ernakulam as the Metropolitan See.

² See note above.

The continued efforts of the late Bishop Dr. John Menacherry of the diocese of Trichur and his successors brought to the bosom of the Catholic Church most of the members of the so-called Independent party, a section of those who incidentally adhered to Nestorian schism at Trichur, as a result of the unauthorized visits to Malabar of the two East-Syrian Catholic prelates, Thomas Rockos (1861) and Elias Mallus (1874). In addition to the mission to the Nestorians (called Súráis) of Trichur, the bishop of Trichur is at present carrying on a mission to the Jacobites in about a dozen centres.

A far-sighted prelate and a zealous promotor of the welfare and progress of his people, Dr. Alexandar Choolaparanapil, bishop of Kottayam, launched a new mission (1921) for the reunion of the Sudist party of the Jacobites. Accordingly, Mar Severios, their leader and bishop, agreed to embrace the Catholic Church: but he was carried away by death before he could have his desire carried out. Only one or two priests and clerics and a very few of the laity were drawn by the first draught. The more vigorous continuance of the work to the present times has effected the reunion of hundreds of families with several priests and a bishop (the late Mar Dioscoros).

It is worth noticing that in recent years the Syrian Carmelite community has done a considerable service towards the reunion at different Jacobite centres. Their calendar for 1942 shows that more than one hundred and fifty schismatics have been reclaimed by them. Fr. Stephen, Fr. Gregory and Fr. Hilarion are some of the more prominent of those who worked for the reconciliation of the dissidents.

A few words about what has been done by the Latinites for the reconciling of the Jacobites also may be added for the sake of integrity. On the occasion of the Vatican Council (1869), Dr. Leonard, Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, sent a cordial message to the Jacobite leaders inviting their community into the Catholic Church. This invitation is generally considered as the first step taken by the Latins in Malabar towards the reunion of the Jacobites. There we hear of Dr. Benziger, the late saintly bishop of Quilon, who, by his arduous labours, reconciled numerous Jacobite families from several Jacobite centres in central Travancore before 1930. He enforced the use of the East Syrian Liturgy on the reconciled priests. From among those who collaborated with him the names of the late Fr. Rebeiro and Fr. Lawrence (afterwards bishop of Kóttár) deserve special mention.

The long-cherished desire of the leaders of the dissident Syrians of Malabar to be in union with the Catholic Church ever since their separation in the seventeenth century was accomplished on 20th September 1930, when Archbishop Mar Ivanios, head of the Bethany religious congregation, and his suffragan Mar Theophilos, with a few religious and faithful made their profession of faith before Dr. Benziger, Bishop of Quilon, who was deputed by the Holy See to receive them, in the presence of Dr. James Kalacherry, bishop of Changanacherry, and Dr. Lawrence Pereira, bishop of Kóttár. It may be stated here that Archbishop Mar Ivanios was the only one to persist in his resolution to unite with the Catholic Church from among the five Jacobite prelates, who (together with Mar Dionysius who had been having communications since 1923 with Mgr. Ephrem-Rahmani, the Syrian Patriarch, towards reunion) made a tentative approach to Rome in 1926 through a joint representation. The newly united prelates and their followers were allowed to follow the Antiochene Liturgy and Rituals which they had been accustomed to in the Jacobite church, with the necessary corrections, and in 1932 (June 11) the Syro-Malankarese hierarchy was established for them with Trivandrum as the metropolitan see (under Mar Ivanios) and Tiruvella as the suffragan see (under Mar Theophilos). Still, their tenacity to stick to the Antiochene rite, got into Malabar through Jacobite agency in the seventeenth century, may look strange when we consider that it was for the preservation and continuance of the East-Syrian Liturgy and Rite of the National Church of Malabar that their ancestors struggled hard and, finally, disappointed, fell into schism. The Syro-Malankarese hierarchy within the short period of its existence has made a very rapid progress.¹ A scholarly and talented man, a ready-witted and hard-working prelate, with his shrewd foresight and fascinating personality ; gifted with enchanting eloquence and rare tact, Archbishop

¹ There are at present (a) three bishops including Mar Serverios, administrator of Tiruvella ; (b) 122 priests, of whom one Rabban, one Corepiscopus, thirty-eight religious uniates belonging to the Order of the Imitation of Christ, thirty-five secular uniates, thirteen uniates ordained after their conversion, thirty-four Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar who changed their rite ; (c) sixty nuns in eight convents ; (d) 44,000 faithful including uniates and neophytes attached to thirty parishes, eighty-five chapels, sixty mission houses, and 275 mission stations ; (e) two minor seminaries ; (f) eight schools, fourteen middle schools, seventy primary schools, one training school, two technical schools ; and (g) one printing house. Arrangements are being made for opening a First Grade College at Trivandrum.

Mar Ivanios gets access, sometimes perhaps, open to criticism from those of a more conservative view, to people of all walks of life in order to build up the infant hierarchy under his charge. Like the late lamented archbishop, Mgr. Szepticky of the Slav Church, he is heart and soul bent upon making all the organizations and institutions required for a well-established and completely formed hierarchy. With firmness of heart and tenacity of purpose, dauntless in the midst of oppositions and difficulties, he strives forward after his ideals regardless of his financial instability. His missionary activities are not limited to dissidents alone: he is running a vigorous mission to the pagans with mission stations at various centres: for this work he is fortunate to have the services of the Syrian Carmelite priests (twenty), secular priests of the Syro-Malabar rite (three) and a few franciscan (Latin) Friars (eight).

Mission to the Infidels. It has been said in a previous paragraph that the early Syrian Christian community of Malabar was formed of members converted from the noble section of the Hindus. The earliest recorded event of converting low-castes by the native Syrian Christians belongs to the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is related that two native Syrian priests converted a few low-caste Hindus, Arayás by caste, at Poonjar, in the eastern hilly parts of the modern State of Travancore, during the days of Dom Menessi.¹ But, there is no traditional information to be had from the locality to prove the veracity of this solitary statement.

The Synod of Udayamperur (Diampor 1599) ordered that all pagans irrespective of caste distinctions should be baptized and admitted to the Church. Still, the Syrians of Malabar, on the whole, were not positively and collectively for evangelizing the low-caste pagans till the middle of the nineteenth century. What we know of the activities of the Syrians in this field previous to that time, can be considered in the light of services rendered by a few Syrian priests to the Latin missionaries in Malabar and in other parts of India. A letter of St. Francis Xavier (1548) shows that in their missionary endeavours in Malabar the European missionaries were assisted by native Syrian priests. In the seventeenth century when the European Carmelite missionaries were carrying on conversion work among the depressed classes by orders of Bishop Alexandar de Campo and afterwards till about 1890,

¹ Travancore State Manual Vol. II, p. 179; Fr. Bernard.

the foreign missionaries working in the littoral regions of Malabar and in Tamil countries were generously assisted by Syrian priests, some of whom were latinized during their scholastic course at seminaries of Vaipicot and Cranganore, conducted by the missionaries. From among those who worked in the Tamil countries the name of Fr. Mathew Kattakayam of Palai (born 1768), who, served the Madura mission for the whole of his priestly career till he died in the first half of the nineteenth century, deserves our attention.

Through the influence and after the example of the Latin missionaries, none the less stimulated by the advance made by the protestant missionaries in converting the depressed classes, the Syrians of Malabar, partly under the Vicariate of Verapoly and partly under the Padroado rule of Cranganore, began evangelizing the untouchables about the middle of the nineteenth century. In the new move towards the conversion of the depressed classes there was strong opposition in certain quarters on the part of the conservative Syrian Catholics, who were proud of their noble descent from high-caste Hindus. This mentality of the old Syrians kept the new converted Christians belonging to untouchable classes away from having any possibility of partaking with them in social as well as religious functions.

Athirampuzha and Kuravilengád and afterwards Changanacherry were prominent among the early centres where the native Syrians worked for the conversion of the depressed classes. But their activities were limited to the boundaries of the respective parishes. The records of the Athirampuzha church show that there was a school and catechists existing there in 1850 to teach the depressed classes—Ezhavas, Pulayas, Sambavas—and to give them catechetical instructions. There a separate church was built for the new converts before 1870 when they became considerably numerous. The neophytes of Athirampuzha were denied admission to the parish church until 1914, when Fr. Sebastian Purakkary taking much interest in them fought for their cause, and Dr. Kurialacherry (the late bishop of Changanacherry) after long disputes decided in their favour.

It is evidenced by records that the mission to low-castes at Kuravilangad in its initial stage was influenced and financed by the Padroado Governador of Cranganore. Fr. Sebastian Kizkekara at Kuravilangad and Fr. Mathew Palakunnel at Changanacherry were the most noted among the pioneers in this field of work. Because the old families do not like

to attend the church with the neophytes a separate church was built for them later at Kuravilangad as their number increased just as it happened at Athirampuzha.

Missions to the depressed classes were carried on also in other places around the parishes though not so vigorously as in the two above-mentioned centres. At the time when the Syrians were separated from the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly in 1887 there were listed separate churches for the neophytes at Changanacherry, Kottayam and Kaipuzha (Sudist) in addition to the above-mentioned two. The two Vicars Apostolic of Kottayam and Trichur¹ encouraged missionary work and set apart a column of the diocesan calendar for the details of the same.² The furtherance of the work under the three Vicars Apostolic of Changanacherry, Ernakulam and Trichur was still more vigorous and a director of propagation of faith was appointed in each diocese. The most prominent among those who worked for the conversion of pagans during the period of Vicars-Apostolic (1887-1923) were Fr. Emmanuel Nidiry, about whom mention was made in connexion with the mission towards the reunion of the dissidents, and Dr. Thomas Kurialacherry, who afterwards became bishop of Changanacherry (1911-25). The activities of the former in this respect were almost confined to Kuravilangad, his parish, while those of the latter extended over all the important parishes in the western lowland regions of the diocese of Changancherry. It was through the efforts of Fr. Nidiry assisted by Fr. Jacob Melvattam and Fr. Joseph Peediyakal, who was also a deep Syriac scholar, that the low-caste converts, in spite of the opposition of the influential parishioners, were allowed to attend the church along with others of the noble caste. There were also a few zealous laymen such as Thomas Puthenparampil of Edathwa and Mathew Mannanpally of Kainakary, who both worked with Fr. Joseph Kochupálathunkal of Pulinkunnoo for the conversion and uplift of the depressed classes in Kuttanádu towards beginning of the present century.

With the restoration of the Syro-Malabar Hierarchy (1923) the propaganda work became more and more organized. A part of the income in each of the dioceses of Ernakulam, Changanacherry and Trichur was expanded at the discretion of the respective ordinaries and directors of propagation

¹ See note 1, p. 241.

² The Calendar of Dr. Lovigne for the year 1895 gives the number of the pagans converted as 200.

work for the medical, educational and other philanthropic aids of the new converts. It is worth recording that the zealous prelate, Dr. Thomas Kurialacherry in 1924 set an example to other Syrian ordinaries by donating Rs. 15,000 (about £1,150), presented to him by his people on the occasion of the silver jubilee celebrations of his Sacerdotal ordination, to raise a mission fund in the diocese of Changanacherry. Contributions of the faithful have been and are the chief source of revenue for the mission work. To some local centres of work people very generously contributed food, cloth, etc., besides money. The charity of the West also has considerably contributed towards this cause. The penny collection at Sunday Mass is forwarded from every parish to the diocesan directors to be distributed to the various centres of work. Pagans of any caste are also baptized and admitted to every parish church. In certain parishes, such as Kuravilangad, Athirampuzha and Ramapuram, where the number of the neophytes is large, special churches are set apart to give them catechetical instructions, and an additional priest and Catechists are appointed to look after them: they are paid partly from the diocese and partly from the parish, while those working at detached mission centres are entirely supported by the former.¹

The various congregations of priests and nuns in the Syrian dioceses and the charitable institutions conducted by them—orphanages, poor asylums, hospitals—contribute much towards the progress of missionary enterprise.

The Syrian Carmelites set to work, it is reported, among the depressed classes before 1861. The work was initiated at Mannanam, their mother house, founded in 1831. There, as in other places mentioned above, a separate church, which still exists in good condition, was later on built for the new converts, but towards the beginning of the present century the neophytes were allowed to attend the monastery church along with other people. The Carmelites carry on missionary work wherever they have religious houses, besides the work done at detached mission stations. Where the new converts are numerous a priest member of the house, with the title of vicar, assisted by Catechists, is set apart to have special care over them. Up to now more than 25,000 pagans

¹ At present the neophytes number about 32,000 out of a total of 100,000 in the diocese of Changanacherry. Their number in other dioceses, of course comparatively less, is not reckoned separately; 114 mission stations are run by the Syro-Malabar Hierarchy besides the work done in each parish.

have been brought to the faith through their Apostolic work. Among the Carmelites Rev. Fathers Stephen, Marslin and Ephraem are the most reputed missionaries, who worked among the low-caste pagans. The Carmelites are at present independently conducting twenty catechumenates and mission stations for the Syro-Malabar Hierarchy, while a few of them (some of whom with a temporary and partial change of rite) are working in the Latin diocese of Calicut and in the Syro-Malankarese dioceses of Tiruvella and Trivandrum.

The part of work contributed by the Syro-Malankarese Hierarchy has been referred to above. Now, a few words about the missionary endeavours of the Sudist Syrians are required for the completeness of the subject. Sudists are at present solely interested with the reunion of the Jacobite Sudists. Before they were separated under a bishop of their own race in the person of Dr. Mathew Makil in 1911, they used to convert pagans of low-birth as their Nordist brethren were doing. They also built a church for the neophytes at Kaipuzha, one of their big parishes. Under the new regime, in order to retort it seems, to the Nordists, who were in the habit of abhoring any social relationship with them because of a preconception of their so-called traditional inferiority, they assumed an air of racial superiority. As a result of that they stopped their work of converting the depressed classes : and the newly-converted Christians belonging to their parishes were abandoned to join the neighbouring Nordist parishes or to go their way as they liked. Until recently (when the Travancore Government opened the Hindu temples of the State to all the untouchables of the Hindus) the neophytes were, so to say, forbidden to enter the Sudist churches. Though there are at present a few among their clergy and laity inclined to evangelise the infidels according to Christ's teaching (Matthew xxviii, 19 ; Mark xvi, 19) and Christian ideal they are left helpless by the community, which is averse, it is said, to giving the least humanitarian help to the low-caste converts. All the same it is an injustice to ignore the laudable apostolic spirits of a few Sudist priests, who have gone to work in the missions outside Malabar. The Christian world may be struck with wonder at the morbid tendency of the Sudist Syrians of Malabar to glory in the preservation of their "thought out" blood purity of an affected racial superiority. What may be the pattern after which this unchristian racialism is moulded ? It is not Jewish, if it is claimed to be such, for the Jews

made proselytes from other peoples.¹ Today it is not even Hinduistic, when the high-caste Hindus admit the untouchables of the scheduled classes to their temples and indiscriminately partake with them in social and communal functions. To quote the words of Mr. Jagjivanram, labour member in the Interim Government, speaking recently against the flow of low-castes to other religions, "The Hindu religion does not recognize differences between human beings." By avoiding missions to the (low-caste) pagans, therefore, the Sudists may only be fostering the Hindu mentality of the Syrians of the pre-Diamperitan period!

It is not proper to conclude this article without adding a few words about the recently started flow of the Syrian youth to the mission fields outside Malabar, to work along with the Latin missionaries. Enthusiastic young people of both sexes, have during the last twenty years been leaving their Syrian stronghold to rush to the mission fields all over India. It was from among the students of St. Joseph's apostolic seminary at Puthenpally² (moved to Mangalapuzha, Alwaye, 1932) that the first batch was recruited. Then students of the diocesan preparatory seminaries as well as boys and girls [of a high standard education] were admitted to the missions. These young men change to Latin rite and receive their clerical training at different seminaries in India. They work as diocesan priests or as members of some religious congregation. Girls of course, all become members of one religious congregation or another. St. Joseph's Mission Home, (Kottayam, Travancore), run by the Rev. Fr. Jacob-Vellaringatt (a Syrian priest of Palai), under the patronage of the bishop of the Latin diocese of Vijayapuram, is the only institution of its kind in Malabar to prepare Syrian boys for missionary work beyond the limits of Malabar. For the last ten years Fr. Vellaringatt has been successfully carrying on his work, depending entirely upon the generous contributions both from Malabar and abroad for resources. Very recently the Holy See was pleased to bless this infant Mission Home raising it to the status of an apostolic Institution.

Finally, it may be noted that the Catholic Syrians of Malabar are not as yet able to make a positive and collective move towards missionary enterprise in India as such. Their

¹ Genesis x, 13; Exodus xiii, 37, 38, 43; Deuter xxii, 1-8; Josue v, 10; vi, 25; Judith xiv, 6; I Chronicles xxii, 2; II Chronicles ii, 17; St. Matthew xxiii, 15; Acts ii, 10.

² Previous to this a few had joined the Society of Jesus.

sphere of work has been and is still limited to Malabar, where even, it is restricted to certain boundaries. Does not justice demand that the Syrian Church—the National Church—of Malabar, fostered tenderly for the last nineteen centuries by divine providence, should not be left, rather forced to get stagnated within itself? The present spirit in India of expelling everything foreign has made it a need of the time that the indigenous missionaries should fill the place of the foreign missionaries notwithstanding the Hindu reactions, Mohammedan incursions and the Communist propaganda against Christianity, both in the press and in public activities. The Syrian dioceses of Malabar and their rulers have to rise from their lethargy and to send men and money from their ancient reservoir. The Holy See in its turn may be pleased to encourage the Syrians of Malabar by granting them faculties to extend their missionary activities to any part of India, spreading their rite wherever they may make new conversions. Is it not more natural and less difficult for the Syrians of Malabar to have their traditional rite in other parts of India than for the Syrians of Syria and Palestine or for the Slavs to have theirs in Latin America? India with one voice, cries for the fulfilment of the ever memorable dictum of Pope Leo XIII, of happy memory, who said: "O India thy sons are thy salvation." Does not religious India yearn for that glorious achievement, ever cherished and striven for? After years of frustration, strife and struggle a dim hope is springing in the heart of the Syrian Catholic community of Malabar and there is an ardent desire on the part of all its members that the barriers that stand against their spread to the other parts of India will be before long removed and there will be ushered in a constitution which will promote Christian peace, prosperity and goodwill forging the bonds of brotherhood between the Syrians and the Latins and friendship with all the Christians and peace-loving people of India and the whole world. That ideal is not unworthy of the past heritage of this ancient church of Malabar and nothing will so much promote and preserve that noble vision as the spread of Christianity throughout India, with all its idealism and all its cultural, moral and spiritual influences, by the Syrians of Malabar side by side with the Latin missionaries.

Erápoly.

REV. THOMAS ARAYATHINAL, M.O.L.

20th January 1947.

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**Calendars of :*

(1) *The Syro-Malabar Church.*

(2) *The Syro-Malankarese Church.*

(3) *The Syro-Malabarese Carmelites.*

*Records of a few old and prominent parish churches.

*Written in Malayalam.

THE ARMENIAN COLONY IN INDIA¹

1. History

THERE are no records to show when and under what circumstances Armenians first found their way to India, but there are indications that they have been connected with India from remote antiquity, even before the Christian Era. Authentic evidences, however, prove that they were trading with India in the early part of the fifteenth century. They were well established in almost all the commercial centres of the country long before the advent of the Europeans. In fact, it was *trade* and *commerce* that attracted the Armenians to this tropical country from the snow-clad mountains of Armenia and from the cool plateaux of Persia. As a matter of fact Armenians in India are considered as a branch of the Armenian colony in Persia.

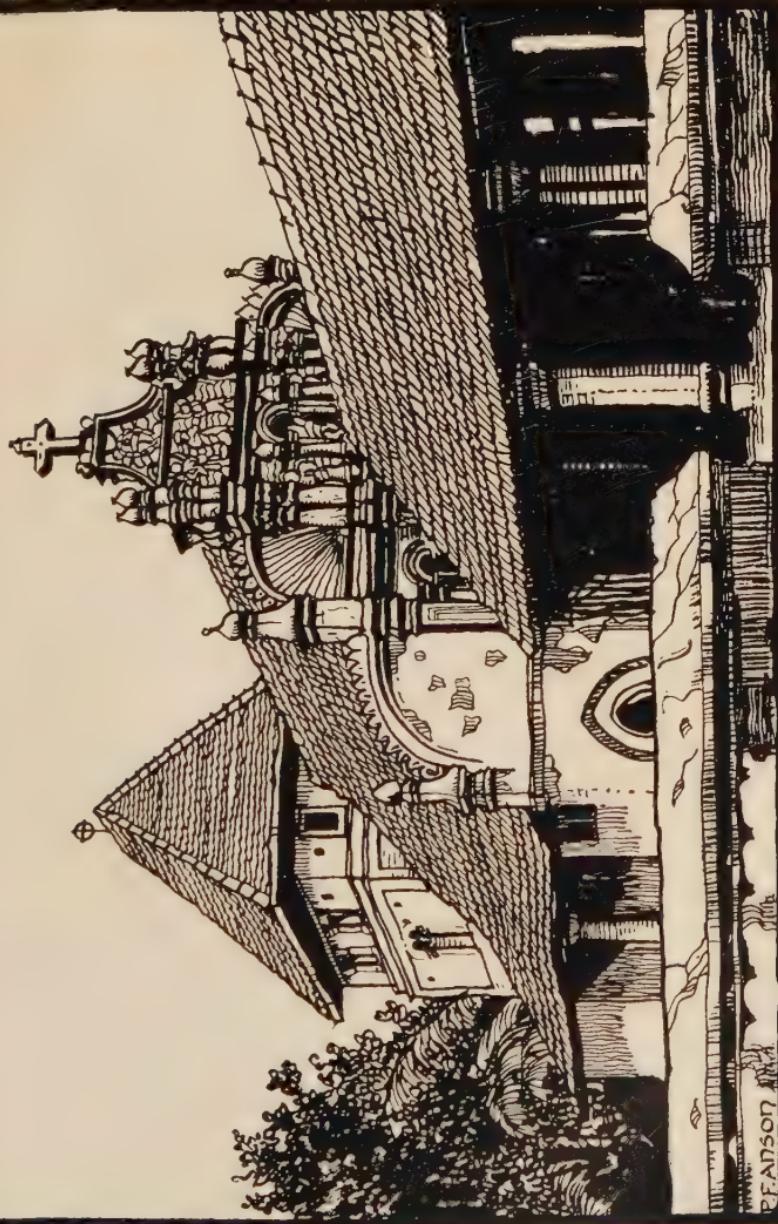
They have been the pioneers of the foreign trade in India. They carried on an extensive trade with Venice and Amsterdam, the Ottoman Empire and Russia. It must be noted that the early-comers formed no permanent settlements in the country. They were simply transient merchants who came all the way from the land of Ararat and Persia to purchase the spices and fine muslins and silks and precious stones for which ancient India was so famous. It was only during the reign of the Great Mogul Emperor Akbar that they settled down and formed various colonies.

This enlightened ruler, Akbar, recognizing the talents of the Armenians in commerce, encouraged them to settle down, giving them every freedom including that of religion. They flourished immensely during the reign of this wise ruler and his immediate successors. Since the sixteenth century we find Armenians settled in Agra, Delhi, Surat, Bombay, Calcutta, Dacca, Chinsura, Saidabad, Madras, etc.

They changed their residence with the rise and fall of commercial centres, leaving behind their cemeteries and churches as landmarks; most of these churches being the first Christian edifices in these parts of the country.

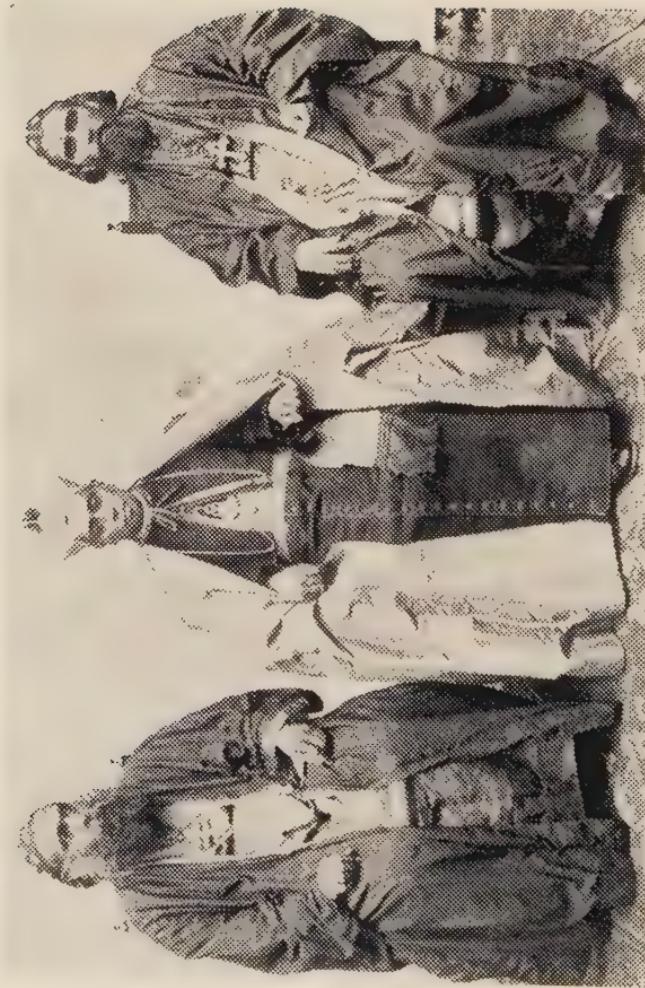
The Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to trade with India, found in the Armenians formidable competitors. They tried to strangle the Armenian trade by violence and

¹In preparation of this article, I have drawn freely from the voluminous work by MESROVB J. SETH, *Armenians in India from the earliest times to the present day*, Calcutta, 1937.



CHURCH OF ST. MARY'S, TRAPOLY (EAST-SYRIAN RITE).
Father Thomas Arayathinal is the Parish Priest.

P.F. ANDSON



MAR IVANIOS,
Archbishop of Trivandrum
Antiochean rite.

MAR AUGUSTINE,
Archbishop of Ernakulam
Syro-Chaldean rite.

By Courtesy of The Universe
MAR THEOPHILOS,
Antiochean rite

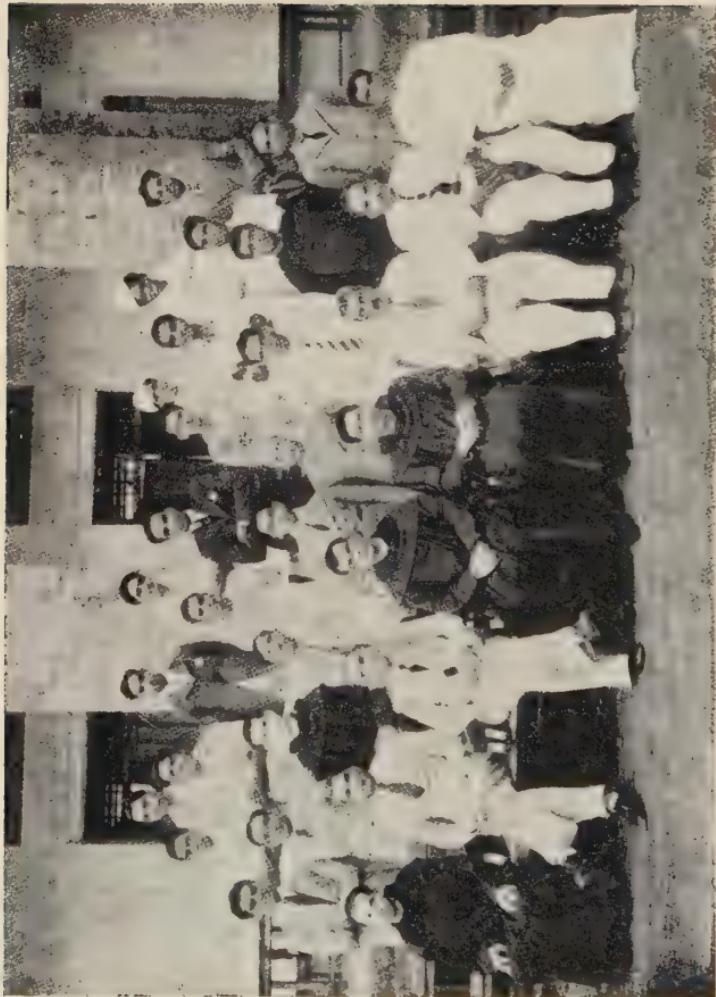


Courtesy of the Universe

MAR SEVERIUS, formally Jacobite Metropolitan of Niram, was reconciled with the Catholic Church by Mar Ivanios 29th November, 1937. He is a graduate of the University of Calcutta and now the Administrator Apostolic of Tiruvalla.



THE REV. THOMAS NANGACHIVETTIL priest of the "Syro-Malankara" (West Syrian) rite. This photograph was taken at the College of Propaganda in Roine where Fr. Thomas did his studies. His servers are two Indian students. He is now head of a house that prepares Malabar students for the University.



SENIOR B.A. CLASS—1945-6.
These are the Carmelite Fathers, Masters and Students of the Sacred Heart College,
Thevara. They are all of the Chaldean Malabar (East Syrian) rite.

attacks upon their ships, but without success. What they failed to do by high-handedness "the cool-headed and the ever-diplomatic English" achieved by stratagem and peaceful tactics. The decadence of the Armenian trade and influence in India begins with the coming of the English.

2. *Their services to the British cause, to India, and their nation.*

It is beyond the scope of this article to enumerate in detail the services that the Armenians rendered to the English, the Indians and their own nation; but these being services rendered indirectly to the Christian cause, it is worthwhile to mention a few of them.

Armenians acted as mediators between the English newcomers and the native princes, enjoying the respect and confidence of both parties. It was through the agency of the Armenians that the British succeeded in obtaining, in 1715, from the Mogul emperor of the time, the historic "Grand Firman" which laid the foundations of the British Raj in India. When Calcutta was still no more than a large village, an Armenian merchant-diplomat secured from the Mogul Government certain important rights and privileges for the early British settlers in Bengal, without which the settlement founded by Job Charnock in 1690 could never have survived, as Professor C. R. Wilson says: "If Job Charnock be the founder of Calcutta, the author of its privilege and security is the great Armenian merchant Kojah Israel Sarhad."

In the dark days succeeding the sack of Calcutta and the tragedy of the "Black Hole" again an Armenian merchant, Kojah Petrus Arathoon, secretly supplied the British fugitives, who had taken refuge in their ships down the river at Fulta, with boatloads of provisions for six months. And in the momentous days before the battle of Plassey, which made the English absolute masters of Bengal, the same Armenian was employed by Clive to negotiate for the overthrow of the author of the "Black Hole" tragedy.

Their services, however, to India itself have been greater. Besides contributing to the progress of trade in India they gave to their country of adoption able governors and administrators, diplomats, distinguished military commanders, skilled artisans and manufacturers of heavy artillery, poets, judges, engineers, medical professors, etc. They built at their own expense many bridges and roads in the country.

Their services to their nation were incalculable. In fact they went as far as offering to actually buy Armenia from Persia and Turkey and place it under Russian rule. Their philanthropic contributions were many and considerable. Two of them bequeathed large sums with the income of which a boarding school was founded for poor Armenian children, first in Italy and then in Paris, where it still exists under the administration of the Armenian Roman Catholic order of Mekhitharists. The Armenians in India, amid their multifarious commercial pursuits found time not only to care for the education of their children but even to bring their contribution to the advancement of their national literature. It is a notable fact that the first Armenian newspaper was published in Madras in 1794. They established schools to train their children in the language and faith of their forefathers. The most famous of these schools is "The Armenian Philanthropic Academy," in Calcutta, inaugurated in 1821, and still existing as "The Armenian College."

3. *Their Services to the Christian Cause.*

Armenians being a mercantile community deeply engrossed in their commercial pursuits, had evidently no time for missionary activities. They have never sent to, or organized missions in India. Armenians in general have never tried to propagate their way of belief among others. They have even hesitated to accept into their church those who have spontaneously asked to become members of the Armenian church. Nevertheless they have rendered important services to the Christian cause in various ways; for instance through their generous religious benefactions, protection and support of Christian institutions and above all by their example. For, as an American divine, Frederick Davis Greene, who lived in Armenia for several years, has remarked: "By nature the Armenians are deeply religious, as their whole literature and history show. It has been a religion of the heart not of the head. Its evidence is not to be found in metaphysical discussions and hair splitting theology, as in the case of the Greeks, but in a brave and simple record written with the tears of saints and illuminated with the blood of martyrs." A few examples will, we hope, help to illustrate this statement.

J. W. Kaye, in his book *Christianity in India* (1859) tells an interesting story connected with the origin of Christianity in India. It seems that the Christian church was in a declin-

ing state in India in the seventh and eighth centuries. At this critical period a mysterious Armenian merchant appears on the scene and revives the wavering Christianity in India. This is what Kaye says : " Towards the close of the eighth century, when it appears that the Indian bishopric were under the authority of the Nestorian patriarchs of Seleucia, an Armenian merchant, named *Thomas Cana*, took up his abode in Malabar. Before this time the Christian brotherhood both on that and the Coromandel coast, persecuted by the native princes, had been driven into the interior of the country to seek refuge in the hills. The influence of Thomas Cana, who whether or not formally appointed to the Episcopal office, appears to have performed its functions and borne its title, was great throughout southern India. Under his protection, the native Christians enjoyed security and peace. It has been conjectured that this man who married and died in India, and left behind him a numerous progeny, is the Christian worthy who has been confused with the Apostolic Saint," i.e., St. Thomas the Apostle (i, 10-11.)

Another writer Rev. Richard Collins in his *Missionary Enterprises in the East*, refers to the same story as follows : " In the eighth century, as acknowledged on all hands, Mar Thomas the merchant called by Syrians of Travancore *Knau Thoma*, settled on the Malabar Coast. He was a pillar of the Indian Church and it has been supposed by some that the tradition of the advent of the Apostle Thomas is to be traced to the fact that the merchant had the same name." It was he who obtained from the " emperor of Malabar " several commercial, social, and religious privileges for the Christians of that country. The early Portuguese writers call him Thomas Cananeo and give his nationality as Armenian.

Another Armenian " Pillar of the Church," who rendered many services to the Christians and specially to Jesuit Fathers in India, was Mirza-Zul-Quarnain. Father H. Hosten, S.J., has written about him lengthily in the memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1916. The following is a summary. Mirza was brought up with his younger brother in the royal palace, as adopted sons of Emperor Akbar's Armenian queen who was childless. In spite of all the luxuries and temptations of a Mohammedan palace, the children remained loyal to the faith of their ancestors. After Akbar's death his successor ordered them to embrace Mohammed's religion ; and as a first step forced them to be circumcised and recite the " Calima " (the credo of Mohammedans). They refused

so persistently that the king ordered them to be cruelly scourged. Mirza, who was fourteen, yielded for a while under the burning pain of the blows, but the younger brother, a mere boy of eleven, would not flinch. Later, however, the elder boy, too, openly proclaimed his return to the Christian faith by cutting a cross into the flesh of his right arm. The king seeing the steadfastness of the children allowed them finally to remain in their religion, which, as the children themselves said, "they had sucked in with the milk of their mother." The younger boy shortly died. The elder boy lived to redeem in manifold services his one act of weakness as a child. He became one of the king's nobles, entrusted with important commissions. "The king gave him many times occasion to discuss in his presence and before the whole court about the things of our Holy Law against the highest and wisest Moors in the king's entourage. He would do it so ably that the king himself would applaud and approve what he said and he showed such zeal that Fr. José de Castro, who was always present, wrote to me several times and related to me orally that he could not have done it better himself." At all the most solemn feasts of the year Mirza sends to the (Jesuit) Fathers a large sum of money to be distributed in alms among the poor Christians. His kindness towards those who came from paganism is beyond words. He helps and assists them in all their needs, that they may be confirmed in the Holy Faith. He does the same for orphan girls, who otherwise would be in danger. In a word, Prince Mirza is among these Mogores another apostle, a second St. Paul, who becomes "*Omnibus omnia, ut omnes christo lucri faciat.*" Kind to all, the pillar of Christianity, the only refuge of all the afflicted, he not only procures to all the bodily assistance they want, but ministers with even greater success to their souls. "Many became Christians because the religion of the prince, whom they saw daily assisting people in dying well, and burying the poor, could not be false." In a letter from Goa, written in 1619, it is stated: "The faith was propagated most in a certain province of Mogor, where Mirza Zul-Quarnain, a native of Armenia and a Christian from his birth, ruled since 1619 with the title of governor. Greatly in favour with the king, and therefore very powerful, he promoted largely our religion. He built a church in his province, where the faithful would assemble and acquit themselves of the observances of their religion. The number of poor having greatly increased, he

took some two hundred of them into his palace and supported them with great generosity. This example of his faith and charity drew many away from the impious persuasion of Mohammed, and the unhappy thraldom of idolatry; hence, he obtained the name of "Father of Christians of Mogor." Extending still further the bounds of his great charity, and in order to keep up the care of our Redeemer's Sepulchre in Jerusalem, he sent thither from the remote banks of the Ganges nice presents and a goodly sum of money for the maintenance of the Holy places entrusted to the custody of the religious. He wished to have a sodality established under the patronage of the Mother of God, and he was the first to have himself enrolled and to profess his allegiance to the great Queen. Besides his many other benefactions, Mirza Zul-Quarnain gave a handsome sum of money by which the Jesuits bought landed property near Bombay. With his help the Jesuits founded the college at Agra. Similarly a mission was formed in Tibet with funds from Mirza.

During a persecution, to save the lives of Jesuit Fathers, he spent almost all his wealth and subsequently "from the position of a rich man he was reduced to poverty." In spite of it all, Mirza Zul-Quarnain to the day of his death enjoyed a unique position for which he was envied by many. During his governorship "the followers of Mohanimed dared not, under so powerful a protector of the Christian Law, set their face against it, on the contrary, they respect it."

Fr. J. Tiefentaller writes the following about another Armenian Christian. "There lived at the time at Narwar a Christian of Armenian descent who stood in high favour with the great Mogul and was subsequently appointed governor of that province. He built a new chapel for the gathered Christians. He further states that "The Armenian governor, the only supporter of the Church, having died the small Christian community there dwindled away, soon to disappear altogether."

The Armenian queen of Akbar was instrumental, as stated by Henry George Keane in his *Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, "In promoting the Catholicity of the emperor's mind and predisposing him to regard with favour the Christians."

2. *The present situation.*

From this very brief sketch of the story and activities of Armenians in India it can be concluded that the Armenians in India can justly be proud of a glorious past, but their

present and future, in view of the momentous changes that are taking place in India, are not at all bright. They have greatly decreased in number. From the eighteen-twenty thousand once flourishing Armenian community, today not more than two—three thousand are left. They have, on the whole, been robbed of their position of eminent merchants, without however sharing the fate of the Dutch, Danes and French. The loss of this well-earned position was on the one hand due to their inability to compete with the English, equipped with vast and powerful means, and on the other hand to their ties with the Europeans through intermarriage which greatly weakened their national cohesion.

Twentieth century Armenians have discarded with their national costume, their language as well, and adopted European customs. Several Armenians of both sexes have married Europeans and Eurasians and forsaken their church for the creed of their wives and husbands. In spite of all these changes, however, the Armenian community in India still remains distinct.

At present, of all places in India, Calcutta contains by far the largest number of Armenians. Here they have a church, a college, a day school, an almshouse and a club. The Armenians in Calcutta now number about one thousand souls. In other places of India their number is small.

It would seem that the Armenians in India have all but completed their mission, and it has not been an inglorious one. In fact it is not a small mission for a small Christian community, without governmental support, to maintain its own national form of Christian profession amidst the hatred and suspicion of the heathen. They have done more, they defended it, protected and supported it with all their moral and material means, and made Christianity respected in the eyes of non-Christians.

SHNORK KALOUSTIAN, *Vardapet.*¹

¹ The author belongs to the Armenian Church.—EDITOR.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

In August His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Sacred Oriental Congregation, kept the fortieth anniversary of his priesthood. We offer him our sincere greetings and pray that God will bless all his work. *Ad multos annos!*

We must apologize for not previously drawing our readers attention to the *E.C.Q.* Conference that took place at Blackfriars, Oxford, from October the third to the fifth. As a matter of fact the attendance was the best we have had. These Conferences would seem now to be a yearly event, and we consider early in October, just before term, the best time. Since the greater number of people come by invitation it would simplify things if a card was sent to the Editor by any reader who wishes to attend and a notice of particulars will be sent in reply as soon as arrangements have been fixed. Though if possible we will also give notice in a previous issue of the *E.C.Q.*

The general theme of this year's Conference was : Concerning the Holy Spirit. The papers and those who read them are as follows :—

Biblical Doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, by Father Richard Kehoe, O.P.

The Filioque and its Doctrinal Implications, by Father Paul Henry, S.J.

The Holy Spirit in the Tradition of the Orthodox Eastern Church, by Professor V. Lossky (Orthodox).

The Holy Spirit in Christian Initiation, by Father L. Thornton, C.R. (Anglican).

The Holy Spirit in the Mystical Body of Christ, by Dom Clement Lialine.

Father Mark Brocklehurst, O.P., was in the Chair throughout the sessions.

These papers will be published next year in a Supplementary issue of the *E.C.Q.* Price 2s.

In 1938 we published a translation of Father Basil Krivoshein's treatise on the ascetic and theological teaching of Gregory Palamas. There are many people asking for these back numbers. We are therefore arranging for a

reprint of the articles in a separate issue with an introduction by Dom Clement Lialine and we hope this will be ready during the course of 1948. We expect the price will be 3s.

Mr. Attwater's two books on the Eastern Churches, Catholic and Dissident, published over ten years ago and out of print for some time, have now been re-issued, revised and so far as possible brought up-to-date. They now appear as two uniform volumes, under the general title of *Christian Churches of the East*. The publishers are the Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, U.S.A., and the volumes cost \$4 and \$5 respectively.

January 18th—25th is the period of the *Church Unity Octave*. The following litany, which has been published in various Catholic periodicals and is a translation from the original used and approved in the patriarchate of the Syrian Catholics, may help us to approach this time of prayer in the right spirit!

For the many times we have looked at the speck in the eyes of our non-Catholic brothers and sisters, rather than at their sincere faith and perseverance and goodwill—Lord, forgive us.

For our sarcasm, narrow-mindedness and exaggerations in controversy, and our hardness and severe judgments in their regard—Lord, forgive us.

For the bad example that we give in our lives, thereby discouraging, lessening or even destroying the effort of Thy grace in their souls—Lord, forgive us.

For our forgetfulness to pray for them often, warmly and with brotherly love—Lord, forgive us.

In spite of differences of language, colour and nationality—Jesus make us one.

In spite of our ignorance of one another, of our prejudices and of our dislikes—Jesus, make us one.

In spite of all spiritual and intellectual barriers—Jesus, make us one.

O God, for Thine own greater glory—Bring together us separated Christians.

O God, for the triumph of goodness and truth—Bring together us separated Christians.

O God, that there may be one only sheepfold for the one Shepherd—Bring together us separated Christians.

O God, that peace may reign in the world—Bring together us separated Christians.

O God, to fill the heart of Thy Son with joy—Bring together us separated Christians.

(This is taken from *Orate Fratres*, 27th July 1947.)

Egypt. Since the Egyptian Government now has a representative at the Holy See, in the person of Taher el Omary Bey, Mgr. Arthur Hughes as representative of the Vatican in Egypt has the rank of Papal Internuncio and the title of Archbishop.

We intend to devote an issue next year to Egypt.

Palestine. On the death of Mgr. Luigi Barlassina, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mgr. Vincent Gelat has been appointed Apostolic Administrator of the patriarchate. He is a Latin Arab Catholic and was in charge in Amman, Transjordan but since 1939 had been president of the Ecclesiastical Court in Palestine.

Iraq. The following statistics of students at the Jesuit Baghdad College for 1946 are interesting:—

	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year	total		
Chaldean	—	44	41	38	22	18	163	
Syrian Catholic	—	14	15	7	9	4	49	
Armenian Catholic	—	2	3	5	6	4	20	
Greek Catholic	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	
Maronite	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Latin	—	—	2	4	6	4	22	
Nestorian	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	
Jacobite	—	—	1	1	2	1	5	
Armenian (Gregorian)	19	27	10	8	5	69		
Greek Orthodox	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Russian Orthodox	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Protestant	—	—	1	2	—	—	3	
Jew	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	
Moslem	—	—	35	20	17	9	13	94
Druze	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total	—	121	114	91	60	53	439	

OBITUARY

HIS BEATITUDE JOSEPH EMMANUEL THOMAS Patriarch-Katholikos of Babylon of the Chaldeans

We just made mention of the patriarch's death on the 21st July in our last issue, we would here add some longer note.

We have just received a letter from 'Iraq which gives a picture of the late patriarch that rings true to life. "Emmanuel Thomas died beloved of all religious in 'Iraq, Christian or otherwise, after fifty years as patriarch. He combined sanctity with great political cunning. Before the 1914 war he visited Istanbul and was given the highest Ottoman decoration. In 1914-18 he avoided the mistakes of the Nestorians (the heretics of the same rite) and remained more or less neutral. He gave all his wealth to the Assyrian refugees who were fleeing south to the British, and when told that he would soon be bankrupt he said he would carry on giving until as poor as the poorest refugee. Later the Nestorians got more and more trouble in their forlorn hope of getting European promises in independence fulfilled. When the Iraqis voted for British or 'Iraq Government, the Nestorians voted for the British and the Catholics (Chaldeans) voted for the independence of an Arab State. Emmanuel Thomas became a senator and personal confidant of King Feisal and friend of many noble Moslem families. His prayers cured the daughter of one of these nobles when doctors had given up hope."

One gathers from S.I.C.O. that among other things Mar Emmanuel had championed the Armenians at the time of the massacres, that during the World War I he helped all, irrespective of what religion they belonged to, and that his influence was able to save the Christians of Mosul, Baghdad and Bassorah from massacre. He was also Vice-President in the Iraqi Government. R.I.P.

His successor is said to be Mar Ghanima, titular bishop of Martiroplis and auxiliary in Baghdad.

HIS BEATITUDE CYRIL IX

His Beatitude Cyril IX Moghabghab Patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and all the East of the Melkites, 13th Apostle, who died a most holy and exemplary death in Alexandria on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, 8th September 1947, was born ninety-one years ago in the village of Ain-Zehalta in that part of the then Ottoman Empire



Courtesy of "Lien"

CYRIL IX (MOGABGAB),
the late Melkite Patriarch of Antioch and All the East.



CYRIL IX with Archbishop Hughes after Solemn Liturgy celebrated on 8th June, 1947, at the Church of St Cyril Heliopolis.

we know today as the Lebanon. His father was a married priest of the Greek-Catholic (Byzantine) or "Melkite" rite, and his mother a pious and devout woman. Thus it was not surprising that young Daher Moghabghab should have entered the seminary of Ain-Traz immediately on leaving school. He quickly attracted the attention of his superiors by his piety and zealous devotion to study and was accordingly transferred to Rome where he completed his training with particular attention to the service of the Byzantine Liturgy. Whilst in the Holy City he actually received communion from the hands of Pope Pius IX, and then in 1875 was recalled from Italy by the then Patriarch Gregory Youssef, who placed him in charge of the seminary of Ain-Traz where he had been so recently a pupil.

Five years later the still young Fr. Moghabghab left the Lebanon for Lyons in France, where he opened a small school teaching both Latin and Greek and then again five years later he returned to Ain-Traz which, however, in 1896 was closed down. Some of the pupils were sent to Rome, the remainder to St. Anne's in Jerusalem, where the White Fathers have ever since continued to prepare Melkite students for the priesthood.

Given the title of archimandrite shortly before the death of the Patriarch Gregory, Fr. Moghabghab was appointed secretary and private confessor by the new patriarch, H. B. Peter IV Jereijiri, and whom he accompanied on journeys in Syria, Egypt, to Rome and Turkey. In Constantinople the patriarch and his secretary were received by the famous "Red" Sultan, Abdul Hamid, whilst shortly afterwards Fr. Moghabghab learnt of his election to the bishopric of Zahle in the Lebanon. This honour he was reluctant to accept, but he was over-ruled—being consecrated on 28th May 1899.

Three years later the Patriarch Peter IV expired, and the bishop of Zahle was unanimously chosen in his place, but humbly declined as he was already fully occupied in coping with the dire poverty and distress he has found in his own diocese. To alleviate this money was necessary and thus, armed with a letter from Pope Leo XIII, the bishop travelled for four years throughout Europe and America, visiting in turn Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium, Holland, Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico and the U.S.A. He not only collected funds for his poor at home, but worked hard amongst his scattered compatriots

in the lands he visited, particularly in South America, where he did much preaching, held retreats and generally stimulated the morale of those from the Levant so far from their own territory.

Safely back in Zahle, he was able to build schools, churches and presbyteries to the number of forty or more—hence earning the name of “The Builder,” by which he will always be affectionately remembered. He fought courageously against the Secret Societies at that time the bane of the Lebanon, and in 1914, though denounced to the Turkish authorities, was not only acquitted but actually won the esteem and respect of the governing Pasha. A few years later the Ottoman Empire collapsed and in the negotiations which accompanied the Peace Treaties, the bishop of Zahle was chosen by both Christians and Muslims to take part in the delegation visiting Paris and which resulted in the annexation by the Lebanon of four districts including that of Baalbek.

Soon afterwards death again left vacant the patriarchal throne to which on 8th December 1925 the former Daher Moghabghab was once again elected—and this time he accepted, taking the name of Cyril IX and thus commencing a reign which has just now terminated.

As patriarch his activity was prodigious; he continued to build churches and schools wherever required by the Melkite communities throughout Egypt and the Levant, and whenever, he could obtain the funds necessary. He re-organized the Greek-Catholic episcopal college and in 1932 created a separate diocese for Transjordan, freeing it from dependance on the Jerusalem Latin patriarchate. The following year, in celebration of his sixtieth anniversary as a priest, he went on a triumphal tour starting in Antioch and so through Palestine back to Cairo, whither as patriarch he had first arrived in 1928. He also journeyed twice to Rome, in 1925 and 1934, being received with particular distinction at the Vatican on both occasions, as also by the Civil Authorities in Italy and France. Throughout his long tenure as successor of St. Peter in the see of Antioch, he was most punctilious in fulfilling those numerous visits of ceremony to heads of other religious communities and to the Heads of States—so important in the East. And yet to the poor and needy he was ever at home so that it is rumoured he has died a poor man, leaving a will that is a model of Christian charity and good order.

Under his initiative certain liturgical reforms were com-

menced and in all he issued some thirteen pastoral letters covering a wide variety of subjects. He also directly encouraged the publication of the Greek-Catholic monthly *Le Lien* published in Cairo, which sets a very high standard of popular journalism on all matters connected with Catholic affairs as affecting the Melkite community. During the war years, His Beatitude was always pleased to see members of the Allied Forces, being particularly concerned for the welfare and happiness of Catholic lads and girls stationed "so far from their own green and pleasant lands." A solemn Liturgy for the intentions of the Allied Troops was offered up in the patriarchal Cathedral, Faggala, Cairo, and the patriarch was subsequently photographed surrounded by those in uniform. Unfortunately, however, the Forces' chaplains, with certain exceptions, were slow to realize what a wonderful opportunity here existed for both themselves and their flocks to learn something of the Church in the East and it was not until 1945 that any real attempt at a closer contact was made.

Dwelling during his later years for the most part in Cairo, or at his residence at Fleming, Alexandria, the patriarch enjoyed the respect and esteem of the Royal Egyptian Government, as well as of those other predominantly Muslim administrations ruling the States of the Arab League. With the Orthodox communities his relations were friendly and co-operative, so that it was customary for His Beatitude to exchange visits with the Coptic and Greek Orthodox patriarchs, which in turn enabled joint action to be taken when the rights of the Christian minorities as a whole were endangered. Such occurred only recently when the three patriarchs jointly sent an energetic protest by telegraph to the Egyptian Government in connexion with the latter's proposed Personal Status Bill then before the Senate and which, as a result, was withdrawn for further study.

To the Holy See His Beatitude was devoted, but as he was also fully conscious of his own position as religious head of the Melkite communities directly under the pope, relations with the apostolic delegation to Egypt were at one time somewhat strained. A request to display the papal arms at Faggala was declined, and there appears to have been a danger that uncalled for ill-feeling between Latin Catholics and those of the Oriental rites whose numbers in Egypt are about equal was to be perpetuated. With the appointment of Mgr. Arthur Hughes, W.F., as regent of the apostolic dele-

gation early in the Second World War, there came an immediate change for the better. The patriarch was amongst those who realized that for Mgr. Hughes the Holy Father's care and solicitude for Catholics of the Oriental rites was not merely a pious expression but a very real directive to positive action. It was with real joy and affection that His Beatitude presided over the Regent's consecration as Bishop of Hieropolis in 1945, and their subsequent relationship was of the happiest to the resulting benefit of all concerned.

Maintaining his excellent health almost to the last, the patriarch was however feeling the weight of his great age, and thus putting the welfare of his flock before his own personal pride he accepted the appointment of an auxiliary in the person of Mgr. Pierre Madawar, archbishop of Pelusium, to whom he surrendered full powers in the summer of this year. On 8th June he celebrated his patronal feast, that of St. Cyril, not as usual in the cathedral of Foggala but at the church dedicated to the saint at Heliopolis. There, surrounded by the people of a parish to whom he was particularly dear, and in the presence of Mgr. Hughes, he took part for the last time in the majestic ceremony of Pontifical Mass according to the Byzantine rite, and for the last time in Cairo received the cheers and applause of the congregation when he left the church for the usual reception afterwards. It was a particularly happy ceremony—"un vrai fête de famille" as one of the speakers said in paying tribute to his beatitude, whose demeanour in very truth radiated the beauty of holiness and whose pleasure in the love and affection displayed by those present was a joy to behold.

Leaving soon afterwards for his summer residence at Fleming, Alexandria, the patriarch was seen in public on 1st August and then no more. As his failing health rapidly deteriorated he celebrated his last Mass privately in his own chapel on the 15th, but a fainting fit caused his doctors to order him to bed and on 6th September the last sacraments were administered by Mgr. Medawar, assisted by two priests. On 8th September, at 8.30 in the morning, his beatitude listened devoutly to a final absolution pronounced by his auxiliary and, murmuring the last Amen, passed from this life to that beyond.

Requiescat in Pace.

JOHN RAMSAY-FAIRFAX.

The new Patriarch is Mgr. Maximos Sayegh, archbishop of Beirut.

DOCUMENTATION

WILLIAM OF SAINT-THIERRY

1. *Aux Sources de la Spiritualité de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* : Première Série d'Études. Par Dom J-M. Déchanet, O.S.B. ; Bruges, Charles Béyaert ; 1940 ; pp. xii+87.
2. *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry : l'Homme et son Oeuvre* : Par Dom J-M. Déchanet, O.S.B. ; Bibliothèque Médiévale : Spirituels Préscolastiques ; Bruges, Charles Béyaert ; 1942 ; pp. xiv+215.
3. *Le Miroir de la Foi* : Par Guillaume de Saint-Thierry ; Présentation, Traduction et Notes par Dom J-M. Déchanet, O.S.B. ; Bibliothèque de Spiritualité Médiévale ; Bruges, Charles Béyaert ; 1946 ; pp. 192.

There is one aspect of these books, which should be signalized in the first place, and before any account is attempted of their matter : it is the deeply significant one of the date and circumstances of their appearance. It will be noted that the first and second of them were published during the course of the war : the second, in particular, during the occupation of Belgium by the German armies. They are placed, therefore, by their matter, as well as by their high qualities of critical and textural scholarship, in the same category as the more numerous group of publications emanating from Paris during the same period and under similar circumstances. One has here in mind, particularly, the remarkable series under the title *Sources Chrétiniennes*, which, buttressed by an impressive group of ancillary and incidental studies, is of a character to claim keen attention at any time : how much more so at such a time, and under such conditions ! It is on the level of the scheme of this latter series that the Belgian project here under notice, and of which these volumes are the first-fruits, must take its place, and together with which it calls to be considered if the nature, the significance, and the power of the movement which has generated the one and the other are to be adequately estimated.

It will be seen at once, on comparison, that the scope of each project—the Belgian as well as the French—is, on its own lines, similarly ambitious and extensive ; and, moreover, that, in each case, the foundations for the work—as

may readily be gathered from the dating of the various preliminary studies referred to in the footnotes—were being laid down over a period of years well in advance of the outbreak of the war. Perhaps, therefore, it is but the more significant of the deep import and vitality of the movement concerned, that the circumstances of war, and of occupation by invading enemy armies, should have been able to do no more than retard—they have in no sense been able to destroy—these two projects which are among its chief outward expressions.

There seems considerable likelihood, however, that we in England are not yet fully aware of the fact of this movement: still less of its power and significance. The very inadequate attention given, so far, to such a series as *Sources Chrétiennes*—not to speak of the periodical “cahiers,” *Dieu Vivant*, to a considerable extent an organ of the movement—would seem to indicate the persistence of a “war-time” mental attitude among us: a certain numbness and lack of awareness, a certain absence of sensibility towards the manifestations of the Spirit, induced perhaps as an after-effect, yet surely too long-abiding! by the grimness of the mere material struggle to survive. It would be well, however, if this attitude might now be discarded: that further time be not lost, if the Catholic life of our country is to benefit, through the work of its own publicists, by an accession of this deep and new vitality. Grown somewhat too accustomed, perhaps, to estimate resistance to evil in terms of overt and physical action, we may easily fail to recognize the strength and the value of that other form of “resistance,” of which the maintenance and development of such projects as these, under such conditions, now constitute the outward and striking evidence. The monition to seek first the Kingdom of God can seldom have seen better application, can seldom have produced a finer fruit, than in the patience, perseverance and endurance of the scholars and students concerned, in the years and in the conditions of their labour. Their work, as it is now given to us, should be welcomed with the full and respectful recognition due to it, not only on its own intrinsic merits, but as a remarkable testimony to the power and primacy of the spirit, worthy—if only as an example—of our warmest gratitude and praise. If, therefore, the quality of the recognition thus far accorded to the French publications has seemed, with few exceptions, lukewarm and inattentive,—though it is to be hoped, if only

for our credit's sake, that it will not long continue so—let it not be said, now that they have begun to reach us, that the island fog still hangs heavily about us in respect of these also, the first of the Belgian manifestoes of the same spiritual movement.

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In many ways, the first of these books, *Aux Sources de la Spiritualité de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*, is of the most immediate significance from the standpoint of the movement as a whole: since it points to a direct community of interest with certain well-defined aspects of the French series, *Sources Chrétiennes*. In this volume, three separate papers are reprinted, together with a bibliography, to form a "first series of studies" in the entire work of Abbot William of Saint-Thierry: chiefly remembered as that close friend of St. Bernard who, late in life resigned his Benedictine abbacy to become a simple monk in the Cistercian monastery of Signy. In the far-reaching and ambitious project heralded by this volume, and of which its author, Dom J-M. Déchanet, O.S.B., of St. André-lez-Bruges, is the organizer and editor-in-chief, it is Abbot William whom he has taken to his own special care, both as textual critic and as commentator and translator, and also as student and exponent of his spiritual doctrine. In a short appendix (later reprinted in the second of these volumes, to be noticed presently, as a general introduction to the series of which it constitutes No. 1), Dom Déchanet sets out the main lines of the project in question, which aims at nothing less than a revival, by means of text-and-translation, together with critical and doctrinal studies, of the works of many of the pre-scholastic spiritual writers of the Western Church in the eleventh, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In the editor's words: " *La Bibliothèque Médiévale* is proposed as a means of drawing out of oblivion certain of the pre-scholastic authors, and of setting forward (by annotated translations) selected texts capable of enriching our theological and spiritual heritage, or of throwing a certain amount of light on the history of Christian doctrine . . ." (p. 83). In a series of "suggestions to eventual collaborators" he says further: "Finally, a delicate point, but one of the extreme importance for the spirit of the collection: the authors studied ought to be given just as they are, and, to this end, should be put back within the atmosphere which is their own. If the tendency of their minds is clearly Platonic, they should on no account

be turned into disciples of Aristotle. Neither should it be attempted to adapt their mentality to the Scholastic system by shutting their thought into the interior of concepts to which it remains foreign. If this requires some effort, some sacrifice, it is only by such objectivity that the authors of the pre-scholastic epoch can be rendered helpful and usable" (ibid. p. 85).

The project envisages, besides text-translations and studies on special aspects of such famous figures as St. Anselm, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Abelard and St. Bonaventure, the revival of many of the lesser known: such as, for example, Arnold de Bonneval, Helinand de Froidmont, Honorius d'Autun, Hildegard of Bingen, Rupert of Deutz, Isaac de l'Etoile, Adam de Perseigne, and our own Aelred of Rievaulx. (It could certainly have been wished that an English scholar might have been forthcoming to deal, at least, with the last named; but it is now too late—the work appears already to have been undertaken by M. le Chanoine Gustave Bardy.)

It will be seen, therefore, that this Belgian project, with its headquarters at the Abbey of St. André, has very similar aims to that which appears to be sponsored by the French Province of the Society of Jesus, in the series *Sources Chrétiennes* and its attendant studies: in that it seeks the revival of, and the return to, the writers of the pre-scholastic West; while the latter-named series deals especially with the early Greek Fathers, and with others of the Eastern Tradition (though its extension is now announced to include Latin, Syriac, and certain non-Christian authors—such as, e.g., Heracleon, Philo, etc.).

* * * *

The first of the papers in the volume, *Aux Sources*—, is a short study of William's famous *Golden Letter* to the Brethren of Mont-Dieu (of which, it may be noted, Dom Déchanet has already completed a fully annotated edition). This, the best known of all its author's writings, it not entirely unfamiliar to English readers: a translation of unusual literary quality, by Walter Shewring, with an introduction by Dom Justin McCann, O.S.B., having been published so long ago as 1930 by Messrs. Sheed and Ward. Dom Déchanet, in his paper, *William and St. Bernard*, traverses much of the ground covered by Dom Justin McCann in his introduction to the English translation, being mainly concerned with the reasons for the persistent attribution of the famous "Letter," throughout the greater part of its history, to St.

Bernard: an attribution, however, which had the effect, by reason of repeated reference and citation, of keeping the work out of that oblivion which seems so rapidly and completely to have enshrouded William's other writings.

The second paper, *William and St. Gregory of Nyssa*, is certainly the most interesting of the three, and may be said to be of a high degree of importance on any count, since it places on record a very significant discovery. It was demonstrated in 1933, by another Belgian Benedictine, Dom Maieul Cappuyns, of Mont César, that a translation had been produced, for his own personal use, by John Scotus Erigena, of that work of St. Gregory of Nyssa which was known in Western Europe as *De Hominis Opificio*, the sole MS. in which it exists having been discovered by Dom Cappuyns himself, in the library of Bamberg. Dom Déchanet is here able, by a most impressive series of parallel passages, to set beyond any doubt that William of St. Thierry used this translation, and made it largely the basis of a work of his own, of similar scope and intention, *De Natura Corporis et Animae*. By virtue of this discovery, and in virtue of his complete study of the *corpus* of William's writings, Dom Déchanet sets his author in an entirely new light, as a figure invested with many hitherto unsuspected qualities: (an observation seemingly, perhaps, of little weight, when the ultimate extent of his fame is had in mind!)

Yet the reasons for the oblivion which was so soon—almost within his own lifetime—to descend upon the man and his writings, are themselves inherent in the history of thought and doctrine within Western Christendom: they are those, indeed, which are primarily accountable for the fact that William of St. Thierry is found to be numbered among a group labelled "Pre-scholastic Spirituals," only in this late day deemed worthy of investigation and revival! In fact, Dom Déchanet's studies shed much light upon the twelfth century itself, as a period quick with spiritual life of a high intensity and pregnant with far-reaching possibilities: an aspect of it which has now for some considerable time been apparent to most students of European culture. It is in the third of his papers, *Orientale Lumen*, that he indicates some of the reasons why so many of these high possibilities were destined to fail of realization, in demonstrating, at the same time, that the same reasons are those themselves which are responsible also for the scanty after-fame of the subject of his studies. To these matters we shall return.

It is rather on the nature of William's own thought, in the treatise analyzed in the second of these papers, that strong emphasis must be laid. The fact that one whom literary historians have long been accustomed to classify—and dismiss—as a close follower of the psychology of St. Augustine is now shown to have ranged in other, and very different fields, to have drawn almost as largely from Eastern, as from Western, sources (see *Life*; App. II: p. 200), invests William of St. Thierry with an importance in the history of Christian thought, which is in no sense to be minimized by the further fact—inherent in the very nature of the reasons alluded to above—that he had no successors. What *did* happen was that William and his work were soon almost totally forgotten: what *might have* happened is that he might have transmitted to Christian thought and doctrine in the West, something of that "anthropological" tradition in the approach to religious psychology in which it has been so conspicuously—one had almost said, disastrously!—lacking: but which the East seems, in some degree at least, to have retained.

Yet it is hardly possible, at this juncture, to do any real justice to this aspect of Dom Déchanet's studies: since, among the many volumes completed and promised for publication, we are still awaiting, in particular, his work on *La Théologie Spirituelle de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*, announced for 1940, but delayed by the war. A glance, however, at the heads of this "doctrinal synthesis" gives one some idea of its character, and certainly can but quicken anticipation and the hope that it may now soon appear. For example: Ch. I "The Metaphysic of a Spirituality": i, Christian Life according to the Fathers—ii, The Bases of William's Spiritual Doctrine; Ch. II, "Animalitas" (*Animalis homo non percipit quae ex Deo sunt*): i, Quid est homo?—ii, Trichotomy and Dichotomy—iii, William's Anthropology—iv, The order of "nature"—v, The "Grace" of Christ—vi, The "animal" state and the *via activa*—vii, "The Flight of the Sparrow"; Ch. III, "Nosce te ipsum": i, Analogy and Image—ii, Image and Likeness—iii, The "reasonable" state; Ch. IV, "In Spiritu": i, The Art of arts—ii, The Great Artisan: the Theology of the Holy Spirit—iii, Unitas Spiritus. It will perhaps have begun to appear that William of St. Thierry—at least as Dom Déchanet expounds him—had it in him to dig rather more deeply for the "spiritual foundations of life" than has been customary in the West since his own day!

In fact, it is precisely here—in this very question of anthropology—that the actual line of the fission between East and West may be said to lie: it is upon two opposing, and to all appearance mutually exclusive, views of human nature that the whole problem turns. A very concise apposition of these two views has appeared fairly recently in one of two remarkable studies, published in Paris during the occupation, on St. Gregory of Nyssa—Père Daniélou's *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*: it would seem desirable to quote it here. “Man ‘in the image’ (of God): this, for Gregory, is what man is by nature. Now the image comprehends together what we call the intellectual life, the *νοῦς*, and the supernatural life, the *πνεῦμα*: the conjunction of these realities constitutes the “nature,” to which is opposed the animal life, which is superadded. It is to be seen that this idea of (human) nature has an object totally different from that which is designated by it in Western theology. For this latter, the “nature” comprehends the animal life and the intellectual life, and is considered as over against the “supernatural” life, which is superadded” (op. cit. p. 54).

As it is quite unnecessary to remark, the implications of such an opposition are practically endless: there is no branch of human activity, no course of moral conduct, no phase of human thought, no line of spiritual development, which may not be pursued, in the light of either one of these views, to a conclusion, as it would seem, poles removed from that to be arrived at by the other: the difference between them appears to be radical and irreducible. Yet, as Dom Déchanet maintains, it is precisely these two opposed views, these two “traditions,” which have somehow to be reconciled: by what mode of the *coincidentia oppositorum*, however, he nowhere suggests! In the final paragraph of his third paper he says: “From the end of the twelfth century, the ‘scholastic’ movement, together with ‘aristotelism,’ carried away Christian minds, even to their innermost fibres, to the antipodes of any Platonic mode of thinking. Thus was lost, in our opinion, the most fortunate occasion ever presented for the reunion of East and West in a common thought. And it was never to return. Today we suffer still, Westerns and Easterns, from a mutual incomprehension due to the formal opposition, radical as it is for certain minds, of the Traditions of the Church.¹ May the study of ‘pre-scholastics’

¹ These two Traditions have been developed so independently of each other, that this opposition, already marked in the 12th century, appears at the present time well-nigh irreducible. But this is so only in appearance.

who, like William of St. Thierry, have drawn from the one and the other of these living traditions,¹ dissipate our prejudices and put an end, in good time, to our too many misunderstandings." (This passage should be read with its footnotes).

* * * *

Of the other two works, No. 2 is a study of William's life, and of his personality, as this emerges through his writings. Dom Déchanet, whose own style is everywhere marked by a very welcome warmth and vivacity, shows his hero to us in this short biographical study, as a figure of unusual charm and sweetness (as befits a singularly whole-hearted interpreter of the Benedictine vocation): deeply humble and self-distrustful, yet of great underlying firmness and tenacity of purpose (as evidenced by his grip, unrelaxed over eleven years, on the project of his transmigration to Citeaux): and endowed, as a proper consequence of his own intense spiritual life and correspondence to divine Grace, with exceptional powers of discernment—of insight into the hearts of men, and into the possible future development of their various and changing mental tendencies. The last named qualities are notably in evidence in the account of the part played by him—much more important than has perhaps been generally realized—in the proceedings which led to the condemnation, first of Abelard and, later, of William of Conches (op.cit. pp. 65-78).

This well-furnished and well-constructed (and, it may be added, well-produced) volume contains a finely balanced critical survey of all William's writings, taken in detail; as well as a survey of the small literature, necessarily of recent growth, which now attaches to his name. It is gratifying to see the English translation (referred to above) of the *Golden Letter* described as having been "made with the greatest care": while Dom Justin McCann's introduction

¹ 'Our conviction', writes Père Congar (*Vie Spirituelle*: t 43: May .935), 'is that both the one and the other of these two Traditions are living in the faith of the Church, and in the thought of the great theologians. It is only that too many concepts have become shrunken and hardened in the milieu of scholastic disputes, and then in the thrice-ancient desert, traversed only by the meagre caravan of the "manuals", of a set and sluggish theological instruction'. But, as Dom Déchanet concludes the note, 'We complain too much, however! (Works like those of PP. Viller, Maréchal) Festugière, de Lubac and many others, not to speak of specialized movements, enable us to augur a better future' (op. cit. pp. 78-79). It is a noble hope, and one which all men of good will must share.

is appreciated for "the much *a propos*, tact and firmness" with which it "repulses, as without foundation" a "suspicion of heterodoxy" brought against the Letter some years earlier (op.cit. p. 175).

* * * *

The third of these books is the inaugural volume of the series of critically established texts, with translation facing, projected for the whole of William's works. The *Speculum Fidei* is one of two treatises—the other being the *Enigma Fidei*—referred to by its author in his preface to the *Golden Letter*, and which accompanied this to its first recipients, the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu. Dom Déchanet points clearly in his introduction to the treatise—as also in the biographical study noticed above—to the origins of the work in the controversy over Abelard: finding it to have been intended, in very great part, as a counterblast to the latter's definition of faith as "the opinion that one makes of realities, hidden and not evident: such, that is to say, as do not fall under man's bodily senses." It appears to have been directed in the first place towards the needs of specific personalities within its author's own community of Signy, who were known to have been—as in earlier days he himself had been also—scholars, and, in certain cases, disciples of Abelard: though it was written, at the same time, with an eye towards other, and much simpler, natures who required to be shielded from such influences.

The *Mirror of Faith*, then, owes its being to the alarm engendered in its author by the teaching of Abelard and his followers—to the forebodings awakened by the all-too-clearly perceptible intellectual and spiritual tendencies of the times. As the translator expresses it: "it is always good, when dealing with a work of the past, to summon into view the circumstances which surrounded its genesis. To reconstitute the setting—the climate—of such a work as the *Mirror of Faith*, is to do more than open a window upon the actual doctrinal perspectives of its author: it is to provide the key of an enclosed garden. It is the first guarantee—not the only one, it goes without saying—of a sound interpretation of the thought, elusive sometimes as it is, of a William of St. Thierry. Abelard is very far away, doubtless, and with him the stormy atmosphere which enveloped, in the twelfth century, the encounter of a somewhat forced dialectic with the matter of sacred science. Yet minds have changed but little . . . That grace which is the Christian Faith

comes into collision, within us, with the same barriers ; and we are all in need to have recalled to us—or to be instructed—by what means it is that Truth inserts itself into our hearts.” (op.cit. p. 17 : Introduction). The passage is at once a declaration of Dom Déchanet’s own *credo* as scholar and literary craftsman, and an indication of the nature and scope of the treatise which follows it : as it is also an affirmation of belief in the applicability of its doctrine at the present day. The work itself, though much influenced in its early chapters by the psychology of St. Augustine, moves gradually away on more original lines, to reach eventually, in the words of its editor, “a different conception of that love ‘which causes belief, and still more, of that which confers the intelligence of faith, to that of the Doctor of Hippo : less affective, less ‘sentimental,’ much more intellectual” (see *Life*, p. 86).

For the rest, the little treatise is rather in the nature of a running commentary upon the ever-changing, ever-developing quality of the life to be observed, and followed, in the “mirror” of the Faith, than the delineation of any series of “states.” In other words, its outlook and method may be described as “dynamic” rather than “static” : a characteristic which may serve to commend it to some minds at the present day. Warned by the example of Abelard, but guided most of all by every instinct of his own highly sensitive spirituality, William is the sworn foe of the “rationalizing reason” : recognizing it as inimical by its origin to the life of the spirit, and giving it no quarter at any point. Yet as Dom Déchanet says elsewhere (*Life*, p. 87), speaking of the *Mirror* “It is certainly not that he ignores the powers of the human mind, still less that he professes any sort of anti-intellectualism. No one has proclaimed, better than he, the rights and the capacities of the human intelligence to possess truth. But neither has anyone measured better than he, or with so much wisdom, the limitations of that same intelligence.” Accordingly, as his biographer pursues, William’s counsel would be : “If you would believe, love ! If you would know what it is that you believe, love ! If you would still more—if you would penetrate as far as to the innermost secrets of the mysteries of faith—love again—love always ! In other words, efface yourself—yourself and your own mind—before the Holy Spirit which alone can lift up your soul to the sublime height of the object of your faith” (*ibid.*). For with William, *Amor intellectus est*. Faith, hope and charity are “inseparably interdependent,” co-

existent in perpetual symbiosis, in the soul that fully corresponds to Grace. Faith is, in the first place, the gift of God : the man of goodwill is he who may deserve it. In his own words (a rendering of the text is here attempted) : " If you have the will you shall believe ; but you may not have the will unless the Father shall have drawn you. And if so that you have the will, then without doubt it is because the Father has already drawn you." Therefore, in the words of St. Paul (II Cor. xiii, 5, quoted in full in the text) " ' Try your own selves if you be in the faith . . . Know you not that Christ Jesus is in you . . . ? ' After what manner is Christ Jesus within us ? Without doubt, by goodwill : since (it is said) ' peace to men of goodwill.' Clearly then, it is by our willing that Christ abideth in our hearts by faith. Therefore is this will (already) somewhat of that love of Christ without which no faith in Him may be ; for true faith cannot be without hope and charity " (op.cit. p. 68). It is thus that William describes the genesis of faith in the heart. But in its early stages faith is blind, and must depend upon the leading of " authority," i.e., the historic example of Christ as revealed in the Gospels. At the same time, corresponding to increasing Grace and putting love ever foremost, the believer must conduct a running battle with his own " rationalizing reason," until such time as " grace enlightening, faith shall begin, by some little of its good, to take hold upon the intelligence " (op.cit. ch. iii, p. 90). Chapter iv shows the soul under the assaults of diabolic temptation, tormented by the " spirit of blasphemy." The remedy lies in " scorn " for the tempter, coupled with a renewed blind turning in love towards its divine Exemplar.

But it is in Chapter v that William begins to draw towards the heart of his subject, and to enter upon the process by which simple faith begins to pass imperceptibly into " Amor-intellectus." For " it is one thing to cherish a simple faith, and in simplicity to comprehend in the heart the pleasantness of its fruits : it is another to know what it is that is believed, and to be ready at any time to render account of the grounds of one's faith. Simple faith tasteth, but enlighteneth not : it is but removed from temptations ; that other (faith), if at times it taste but with labour, yet enlighteneth, and is safer against temptations. Though indeed progressing in faith by little steps (such an one) nevertheless carrieth Christ in his heart, therein by faith abiding ; what things soever that are of faith he holdeth as certain knowledge, conscience

approving" (*ibid.* p. 106). But "for this seeker in the spirit, faith must be nourished with its proper aliments, and before all things must be so held as though seeking to touch God: until the substance of the things it hopeth begin to appear to its tender devotion (or, as Dom Déchanet more picturesquely translates: ". . . commence à poindre aux yeux . . .") : that the natural vehemence of the rationality, through the working of Grace, become converted into the strong heat of love: till rude reason give place to loving contemplation—careful seeking to joy in possession" (*ibid.* p. 110).

For William, the type *par excellence* of this "seeking soul"—*spirituale examinato*r—the "soul which desires to know"—is our Blessed Lady. "Consider," he says, "the Mother of the Lord—the shining model of our faith: having accepted the good tidings of our salvation, and of her conception, and by pledge of the Holy Spirit most certainly believing herself to be the future mother of the Lord, yet did she crave to know after what manner should be fulfilment of this mystery, saying: 'How shall this be done, seeing that I know not man?' She held the thing as of faith, but desired to know the manner. Her faithful soul embraced the thing, comforting itself by the grace which filled her; but the manner of its fulfilment astounded her wonder-stricken nature: feeling indeed within her the Holy Spirit, Itself alone at work, yet not knowing the marvels on which she believed to be operated in her flesh without the aid of flesh" (*ibid.* pp. 112-14).

Commenting on this passage, Dom Déchanet says (*Life*, p. 87): "In the exercise of faith the role of the human reason is not confined to the recognition of the well-foundedness of the authority to which it refers itself. There is a certain 'science' of the truths of faith, a matter remaining over to the intelligence, of that which it believes (understand here the clear notion, not the comprehension), and which is furnished to it that it may give account of the reasons for its faith. There is even a legitimate curiosity which tends to examine the most hidden mysteries of religion. But this curiosity must be of the same nature as that of the Virgin, asking of the divine Messenger, 'How shall this be done?' It should be a humble desire, an act of piety in the exercise of love."

Dom Déchanet completes his analysis of the *Mirror* in these words (*Life*, p. 88): "The second part of the *Mirror of Faith* dwells upon the mode and nature of this knowledge

in the Spirit. William conveys to us his theory of the *intellectus-amor*, manifestly inspired by Plotinus and the Greek Fathers, but lighted up by him, in our own personal judgment, by a curious *rapprochement* with the Augustinian theory of sensation-cognition The final pages of the *Mirror* escape all analysis. It is impossible to resume, in a few lines or paragraphs, thought so finely shaded, so profound, and above all so new as that of William of St. Thierry, on a subject which has haunted, may one say, the whole of the Middle Ages, after having deeply occupied the thinkers of antiquity. *The knowledge of God by love, within the Holy Spirit*—intuition which is not yet that of the Vision face to face, at least so far as concerns its duration and its fullness, but which is a foretaste of it—is here presented to us by William as the normal crowning, the natural fulfilment, of an integral life of faith.” (italics ours). “O thou, then, whosoever, that desirest and strivest to have in thy faith, even here below, the joy of the Lord thy God: be not doubtful, be not undecided, but most resolutely be master of thy heart. Hold in certain faith certain joy, on such foundation to base thyself with a good conscience . . . Then, after that thou hast begun to see, strive that thou mayest see more frequently, feel more strongly—that thou mayest begin also to know.” (*Mirror*, p. 160; italics ours). But “to promise in this life the fullness of this knowledge is a dangerous presumption” (*ibid.* p. 168).

One further citation will serve to show the closeness of William’s thought to those sources from which he drew so deeply: “The Eastern tradition has never set up a sharp distinction between mysticism and theology, between the divine Mysteries as personally experienced, and the doctrine affirmed by the Church. Words spoken, now a century ago, by a great Orthodox theologian, the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, express this attitude perfectly: ‘None of the mysteries of God’s Wisdom—even the most secret—should appear foreign to us, and altogether transcendent; but in all humility we ought to adapt our minds to the contemplation of divine things.’ In other words, the doctrine expressing revealed truth which may seem to us an unfathomable mystery, must be ‘lived’ by us in a definite process, in the course of which, instead of assimilating the mystery to our present mode of understanding, we shall require, on the contrary, to awaken ourselves by a profound change, to an inward transformation of our minds, by which we may be rendered capable of mystical experience.” (V. Lossky: “Essai

sur la Théologie Mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient" : Paris : 1944, p. 6 ; italics ours.)

It would appear, unfortunately, that William—and his editor—have been less well served in the production of the *Mirror*, than in that of the other two volumes : printer's errors are numerous, and the usefulness of the "table analytique" is much impaired by what looks like careless compilation.

* * * *

It seems true to say, on the whole, that it is chiefly in virtue of the strongly "anthropological" character of his thought that William of St. Thierry becomes a figure of high interest in the line of those new developments already mentioned, out of which this Belgian group of studies, as well as the larger French group, is emerging. It is by this element that he is now seen to be connected—by the channel, too, of a direct influence—with one of the greatest of all Christian "anthropologists," St. Gregory of Nyssa : from whom, moreover, he holds his doctrine of the "Image-resemblance." Let us hear both men speak, as cited in parallel by Dom Déchanet (see *Aux Sources* : p. 54) :

Gregory : "This reduction to a mode of birth submitted to the passions, and common to the animals, has prevented within us the direct reflexion of the Image of God ; and it is by a following out of the material and animal peculiarities of his soul, that man must find the way to his completion." (*De Hom. opif.* : cap. xxx.)

William : "We come to birth in manner as the beasts ; and neither at once, nor without great and long-enduring labours, may we show forth again the Image of our Maker ; but by a long road, through the material and animal peculiarities of the soul, is the man led to his perfection." (*De Nat. Corp. et An.* : Migne, P.L. clxxx : col. 710c.)

"Two voices are there"—both are of the deep : and with the second of them, we are still far enough from the shallows of Scholastic "humanism."

What might have been, had William of St. Thierry been able to transmit in a normal manner, his own anthropological doctrine, and with it the influence of the great Cappadocian Father, it is idle now, perhaps, to speculate. Yet, had such doctrine continued as an influence of any magnitude, the

development of Christian thought in the West, and thereby, of Christian moral and social teaching, might well have been profoundly modified, and much European history, for better or for worse, far other than it has been found to be.

As things are, however, we can but return again upon the ancient opposition, the two terms of which have been set, as we have seen already, in such pitiless relief by Père Daniélou; and the reason is found to be abundantly clear, from its own definition of human nature, why it is that the Western Christian Tradition has remained without an anthropology.

For, as it is needless to say, it is only in so far as he finds—or learns to deem—himself to have *fallen* into a given condition of existence, that a man begins with any keen attention to survey his surroundings, and to question his own interconnection with them, in detail, and with that element of “dread” or “anxiety” which recognizes them as foreign to his own essential nature, and which drives him, with more or less of urgency, to seek means for his extrication from them. Such an outlook embraces the factor of anthropology as a matter of course: since the whole life of the man may be said to be qualified by it—to be lived, indeed within the anthropological categories. If, on the other hand, the animality be accepted as an integral part of the man’s nature, it is obvious that there can be no place in his scheme of life for anything corresponding to an anthropology such as a William of St. Thierry would have recognized. All incentive to question the grounds of his existence has been removed—an entire tract, the field of the consciousness that would be occupied, in the other case, by the “anthropological” questionings and considerations, comes, in the case of the Western Christian, to be segregated and “sealed off,” and is allowed to sink below the normal conscious levels. Life proceeds from an altogether different set of motives and on the plane of another set of interests, and it is only “abnormally” that the existence of the hidden tract becomes revealed.

It is not without its own degree of relevance to this consideration, that the scientific interests embraced under the terms of “analytical psychology” are phenomena of purely Western origin; and, furthermore, that their hunting, and feeding, grounds have been found to lie chiefly, or entirely, within that closed and sealed-off tract of the “psyche”—that neglected territory abandoned to them (or to whatsoever chance comer), as a consequence of that development of

religious thought and motive which has characterized Western Christianity. Whatever may be disregarded, or deemed dispensable (or "prescinded from"), by any method of philosophic abstraction, is not thereby dismissed into non-existence. It is possible to pay too heavily for a "system"—however "strongly carpentered"!

* * * *

It should have become apparent in the course of this survey that William of St. Thierry—both in his own words and as his editor expounds him—is no mere obscure medieval pietist, in strait bonds to the Augustinian tradition, but a deep and venturesome thinker: a true voyager in God, who ranged freely and took his own wherever he could find it—even eastward, under that *Orientale Lumen* of the early Greek Fathers, already in his own far-off day regarded with suspicion, and upon whom the majority, even of his own contemporaries, had already turned their backs. (cf. *Aux Sources . . .*: pp. 73-9.)

As he now appears to us in the light of Dom Déchanet's labours and researches, he seems to stand, a lonely and enigmatical figure, as a sort of signpost in the history of West European Christian thought, charged, now for ever with a great mark of interrogation, and pointing—not before him, down the succeeding ages, but behind him, as though along the way of a return—to that master, and beyond him to that tradition, from which he himself is now found to have drawn. It may not be without its due significance, that so large a place has already been assigned, in the scheme of this new movement of return and revival, to the study of St. Gregory of Nyssa; and his Western disciple, William of St. Thierry is now shown, in the direct succession of John Scotus Erigena, himself also a disciple, to be one further and hitherto unsuspected pier in a never-completed bridge which, had it found completion, might have served to span the chasm now existing between East and West.

J.T.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

CATHOLIC

Studia Anselmiana 18-19. (In memoriam gloriosi ante saecula XIV Transitus S.P. Benedicti). pp. 382.

To review competently the latest volume (18-19 of *Studia Anselmiana* would take much space and as many experts as have gone to the composition of it. In this volume which is prefaced by the Encyclical Letter *Fulgens Radiatur* of Pope Pius XII we have a worthy memorial, "*fructus lectionis divinae*," dedicated by the sons of St. Benedict to their Father on the fourteen hundredth anniversary of his death. Nor is it out of place that the whole should be concluded with a brief note *in Memoriam* to the late Abbot Primate Fidelis von Stotzingen, who for so many years presided over the destinies of the College of Sant' Anselmo, whence all these studies have been contrived. They will be read with great interest by Benedictines and others, all over the world, and to not a few, they will bring nostalgic memories of their own days spent in study under the direction of the same masters at the Benedictine Alma Mater.

We have here thirteen studies, all on Benedictine subjects, and six or seven of them on the Holy Rule itself. Theology, Dogmatic, Moral and Ascetic, are represented by Dom Vagaggini's study of St. Benedict's position vis-à-vis of the Semi-Pelegian controversy, Dom Rothenhaeusler's examination of the concept *Honestas Morum* (in Chapter lxxiii of the Holy Rule), and by an interesting study of *Pura Oratio*, the expression which St. Benedict took from Cassian, and which Dom Gerard Békés examines in the light of the well-known *Collationes* and the lesser known doctrine of St. Clement of Alexandria. Dom Mathias Thiel's study of the *Ordnungsgedanke* in the Holy Rule may be termed an exposé of St. Benedict's philosophy, his sense of values. Textual criticism of the Holy Rule is represented by Dom Genestout's comparison of the Rule of St. Benedict with that of the "Master." By a close examination of scriptural texts alone Dom Genestout establishes a strong case for overthrowing the received idea that the Rule of the Master is a later, expanded and adapted version of St. Benedict's work. If he is right—and it is difficult to ignore the cumulative force of so many texts—then it is St. Benedict who is his opening chapters drew heavily on the work of the Master, a somewhat revolutionary idea, so far not accepted by the scholars and one which will pose yet other questions.

Canon Law is represented by two studies. One by Dom Jean Müller goes into what will be for most little known ground, viz., the various manners of electing abbots in the fourteenth century, and the disastrous influence of the court of Avignon. A study of St. Benedict's penal code by Dom Oesterle treats again an ancient controversy—whether the monastic ex communication had the full canonical results, and answers it—we think with cogent reasons—in the negative.

Dom Leclercq publishes the second of two letters omitted from the collected works of St. Peter Damian, and finds on it an illuminating study of the character of the author, who is apt to loom across the centuries in somewhat dark ascetic hues. The letter is of no small interest as a cameo of the eremitic life of the time, and as illustrating the gentler side of the Saint's character.

Another controversy often raised but never really laid is that of the children offered to the monastery. Were they bound for life by their parents' promise? Dom Lentini basing his view on an intimate knowledge of the customs of Monte Cassino and the fifty-ninth chapter of the Holy Rule concludes that they were, though the discipline had altered by the time of Bernard of Monte Cassino.

A study of the prayer of St. Anselm to St. Benedict is furnished by Dom Schmitt, and Liturgy is represented by Dom Philip Oppenheim's study of Advent at Monte Cassino in the eleventh century.

Finally for full measure we have a topical question, which must cross the minds of most Benedictines at some time or other, and not least when there is a congress of abbots pending at Rome. Do Benedictines of today require a greater degree of unity and cohesion than the loose federation provided for a somewhat reluctant Order by Pope Leo XIII? Into this thorny question Dom Leo Thiry treads with both skill and boldness. He concludes that for our safety and well-being a greater unity is at least desirable. It is however the sort of question which in practice only receives an affirmative answer if the logic of events is compelling. Nothing less is likely to effect a tradition of so many centuries of the opposite nature.

We can safely say that in this varied volume, the lover of things Benedictine is certain to find something to profit and delight him.

D.J.P.

Irénikon, 1945-7. Prieuré Benédictin d'Amay, Chevetogne, Belgium.

Readers of the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY are familiar at least with the name of *Irénikon*, the principal Catholic publication dealing with all matters concerned with the Reunion of Christendom, issued by the Benedictine community formerly at Amay and now carrying on its work for reunion at Chevetogne. A few notes on some of the principal contents of the review since it resumed regular quarterly publication in 1945 may be useful for reference. Each number contains an amazingly full and well-informed "Chronique Régulière," dealing not only with relations between Catholics and Orthodox and other religious bodies but with Anglican-Orthodox relations, the OEcumenical Movement, and anything of real interest or importance in the life of the Orthodox and other churches, all chronicled with accuracy, objectivity and sympathetic understanding. Each number also contains a large number of reviews, short as a rule but informative and very wide-ranging and by no means confined to books directly bearing on Reunion: patristic studies and books on the Liturgical Movement and a large number of works of Catholic and non-Catholic theology receive attention.

A few particularly important articles may be singled out for special mention. There are several dealing with what may be called the theology of unity. A series of three by Dom Clement Lialine on the Encyclical "Mystici Corporis" are of very great interest and value (Vol. XIX, No. 2, Nos. 3 and 4—a double number—and Vol. XX, No. 1). Dom Lialine deals at some length with the opinions of theologians about the doctrine of the Mystical Body during the period preceding the issue of the Encyclical and with the teaching of the Encyclical itself; and in the course of his concluding reflexions, when dealing with two Protestant criticisms of the Encyclical, he puts forward some excellent suggestions about the relationship of non-Catholic Christians to the Mystical Body of Christ. This theme is taken up and more fully developed in an article in the next number (Vol. XX, No. 2) by Fr. P. Michalon, of St. Sulpice, with very satisfying results. These articles are necessary reading for anyone who wants to arrive at a right solution, at once thoroughly traditional and very positive, of the problem of the real relationship of our separated brethren to the Church; and they should certainly be brought to the attention of non-

Catholic theologians. Another good article on the theology of unity is that of Dom N. Oehmen on Schism (Vol. XVIII, No. 1).

On Orthodox religious thought there are an appreciation of Fr. Bulgakov by L. Zander (Vol. XIX, No. 2), an article on Skovoroda by V. Zenkovskii (Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 and 4), and two very valuable articles on Gregory Palamas by the Archimandrite Cyprian Kern, written in an eirenic though in no way compromising spirit and seeming to hold out more hope of a possibility of reconciliation between the thought of Palamas and the broad tradition of Catholic philosophy and theology than anything else yet published on the subject (Vol. XX, Nos. 1 and 2). Among contributions on Continental Protestantism should be mentioned the last of Fr. L. Bouyer's articles on the School of Lund—Nygren, Aulén and Brilioth (Vol. XIX, No. 1)—the two earlier articles appeared in *Irénikon* (Vol. XVII, 1940) and "*Questions sur l'Eglise et son Unité*," a war-time surrogate for *Irénikon* which appeared in 1943: also the very attractive description of the Protestant community of Cluny by M. Villain (Vol. XIX, No. 2).

A.H.A.

Russie et Chrétienté. No. 2. Rédaction : Centre d'Études Russes Istina, Paris. 1947.

The second post-war issue of this Catholic publication contains as much interesting and valuable material, as did the first, reviewed in the January-March 1947 issue of the *E.C.Q.* No student of contemporary developments in the Orthodox Church can afford to ignore these *Cahiers*, remarkable both for the wealth of information and for the true Christian charity in their approach to the delicate problems besetting the Orthodox Church inside and outside the Soviet Union.

There are three articles in the issue: the one by M. de Taube dealing with the resumption of Byzantine studies in Russia is already slightly out of date, since the publications analysed refer to 1945, while subsequent developments, such as Zhdanov's attack on "objectivism" in the history of philosophy forecast unfortunate repercussions in all fields of historical research. B. Nikitine concludes his interesting study on spiritual contacts between Russia and Asia, and Professor N. Arseniev writes on certain features characteristic of Russian religious thought.

The most valuable section, however, is doubtlessly the collection of notes, texts and documents (pp. 38-93). It is not accidental that this section opens with a reprint of three remarkable documents—two pastoral letters by Metropolitan (later Patriarch) Sergius and a reply to these letters written by a group of Orthodox hierarchs deported to Solovki. The three documents are already twenty years old, and yet the central problem of the controversy—the relationship between the totalitarian State and the Church—is as burning today, as it was then. The reprint of these little known documents is extremely timely, from now on, no polemics on this key problem will be possible without reference to them.

The remaining chapters of the section were noted in the last issue of the *E.C.Q.* The bibliographical section is a little meagre, but the review of reviews is very comprehensive.

An editorial note on the cover says that for the time being two or three issues a year are envisaged, but that as soon as possible the revue will revert to periodical appearance (three issues per year), a highly welcome prospect.

V.F.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

De Forma Eucharistioe. De Epiclesibus Eucharisticis. Martinus Jugie, A.A. Romoe, 1943. Pp. 143 in 8vo maj. 1943.

All Catholic theologians will be grateful to the veteran scholar, Fr. Jugie, for this splendid gift with which he has presented them. The matter of the epiclesis, in reality so very simple and straightforward, has been during these last centuries, the subject of bitter misunderstanding, owing mainly to the way in which it has been presented in Dogma. Fr. Jugie's plural title—*De Epiclesibus Eucharisticis*—is not only a welcome theological innovation, but also, a very convenient way of answering theological difficulties. Thus he writes in the introduction: "The papers written on this subject of the epiclesis are well-nigh numberless; but, after reading most of them, you will probably decide that their number helped very little to explain the question, that indeed, it added only confusion; and this, because the question was not clearly presented, mainly an account of the defective

knowledge of the liturgy, both Eastern and Western. For this reason we too have decided to add another paper on the same question ; in which, as may be inferred from the title, we shall speak not about the epiclesis in singular, but about the eucharistic epicleses in plural. Purposely, therefore, we make use of the plural form, because, according to our opinion, in many liturgies or masses, there are not only one, but several epicleses, which should help the theologian to discuss the question of the form of the Eucharist ; unless, as we think, the very fact of the existence of many epicleses, suffice to remove all doubt about them."

This the writer proceeds to do in this work with a very orderly and systematic presentation of the whole argument. He himself gives us an abridged summary of the whole book in his *Conclusio*, on page 134 and following. It is as follows : The author begins his work by dealing with the ancient sacramental forms, usually contained in various invocations, or epicleses and prayers, which the Church used from the first centuries in the administration of the Sacraments. The author continues to apply this early practice of the Church to the Eucharistic Sacrament and Sacrifice. This usually consists in asking God, through various prayers and invocations, recited, either before or immediately after the principle essential rite, of the Sacrament which is being performed, to produce the desired effect of the Sacrament or Consecration. Our author then proceeds to distinguish the various forms of epicleses, and it is here where he especially differs from most theologians, who speak only of the one epiclesis used after the consecration of the species to ask God to send the Holy Ghost upon them to work the consecration. It is this way of dealing with the subject of the epiclesis which actually creates all the difficulty. Since (1) in several ancient and modern liturgies there is no epiclesis consecratoria of this type, but only an Epiclesis impretratoria and (2), often in one and the same Liturgy, there is not only one, but several epicleses consecratoriae, of which some precede, some follow, the words of consecration. And, indeed, these epicleses not always pray for the coming of the Holy Ghost, but for the coming of God the Father or God the Son. The writer now proceeds to interrogate each of the liturgies about the use of the epiclesis, and finds that the Catholic Church, and she alone, has always had both in practice and in theory an equally logical doctrine on the efficacy of the true form of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and of the relative

value of the epiclesis. That, on the other hand, most other dissident groups only lately, that is, after the controversies which started in the thirteenth century, have thought it necessary to uphold the necessity of the epiclesis for the actual consecration of the species into the Body and Blood of Christ.

The writer continues to explain the sources of divine revelation, from which nothing could be decided, and then the Doctrine of the Fathers on this same subject. This is certainly a very illuminating chapter; since, from it we are able to conclude that the word *epiclesis*, or its Latin counterparts, *Invocatio*, *Oratio nuptica*, etc., in Patristic literature stands for what we now call *Canon*, or the Greeks *Anafora*.

Finally, our author collects the passages, where the Fathers speak of the specific moment when the Transubstantiation actually takes place, and gives us ten testimonies, where the said Fathers find that moment, where we find it. These testimonies come from Irenaeus, Ambrose, the author of the work *De Sacramentis*, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Augustine, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Faustus of Rietz, Severus of Antioch, Isidore of Seville—that is, from the principal Fathers who wrote on the Eucharist, both in West and *East*. They represent the Churches of Gall, Spain, Italy, Northern Africa, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. The last paragraph of Father Jugie's work is worth recording in its Latin original: “*Cœterum infitiandum non est invocationes ejusmodi in Ecclesiis separatis errori facilem ansam dedisse, ex quo apud illas, liturgiis antiquioribus relictis, multas novas anaphoras secundum unum et idem exemplar componendi mos invaluit.*”

All Catholic theologians, will, we think, thank most heartily Father Jugie for this excellent presentation which heresy and bad faith had distorted to embitter and misguide souls.

DOM ROMANUS RIOS.

The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church (a critical study). By O. H. E. Burmester.

This most interesting extract from the *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* sets out to indicate the existence of a common source for the Baptismal services of the Catholic Church in the East on a basis of identity of prayers and subrics, before the Council of Chalcedon—before, because of the enmity between the Melkite and Jacobite Churches

after the council. The text of certain of the prayers is given in Greek, English and Coptic, and later the text from the Syrian Jacobite rite is added in Latin, and there follows a comparison of the actual ceremonies of the rite according to the Greeks, Syrians and Copts.

The book is divided into six parts of which this is the first, the next are (2) the Churching of Women, the Service of the Basin ; (3) the relation of the Coptic rite to the Greek and Syrian rites ; (4) the Coptic baptismal rite in relation to that of the early Church ; (5) the loosing of the Girdle, and lastly some remarks on the Coptic custom of a general baptism during the fourth week in Lent.

It is a joy to have a work of this kind, which is a considerable contribution to the general research in Eastern liturgies. Perhaps one of the most interesting things is the prayer for the deconsecration of the water after the baptism and before confirmation.

Dr. Burmester notes that the only other instance of a rite of this kind is in the Nestorian Ritual. It is worth quoting from both. The Coptic has : "Thou, Thyself Master, hast made this water to be purified . . . and we pray and beseech Thee . . . change this water into its former nature, that it may return to earth again as at all other times."

The Nestorian has : "qui misisti nobis Spiritum sanctum, et sanctificatae sunt aquae istae in Amen. Eodem quoque Amen solvantur a sanctitate sua, et fiant juxta priorem suam naturam." This no doubt, is because of the belief that the blessing of the water in the font (which precedes baptism) changes the water into a kind of inexpressible power, and later the author notes this and quotes St. Cyril of Alexandria to this effect. Confirmation is, as generally in the Eastern Church, administered immediately after baptism, the newly baptized are then breathed upon, receive their white garment and are crowned, and receive the Holy Mysteries. Concerning the latter (that the Greek adds the rubric) not quoted by Dr. Burmester "and if it is desired the Holy Liturgy is celebrated, at which the neophyte communicates for the first time. If he is a very small child, he is given It only under the form of wine."

Dr. Burmester remarks in a note that the Service corresponding to the Coptic service of the Basin on the seventh day after the birth of a child is, in the Greek rite, that entitled : Εὐχή εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαν παιδίον λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ ὁγδοῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ."

I presume he uses the word "corresponding" because in both rites these services take place approximately a week after birth. There is very little else that corresponds between the two. In the Greek there is merely the troparion of the day, followed by a prayer that "the Cross may be printed on the heart and thoughts" of the child, and an invocation to the Mother of God, followed by the usual dismissal, whereas the Coptic requires the Basin, oil, salt, the seven lighted candles, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, the offering of incense, an epistle and Gospel and parts of two psalms.

It may further be remarked that although the Coptic Churching of Women takes place after forty days, as do the Greek "prayers for a parturient woman after forty days," yet the Coptic service is intended strictly for the woman, whereas the Greek has considerable emphasis upon the child, and the service is intended to a large extent as an introduction of the child into the Church, that it may, so to speak, make a beginning of attending Church. It is interesting to note also, that whereas the Greek and Syrian rites use the passive voice for the words of baptism, the Coptic uses the active.

The book is excellently printed, the Coptic and Greek texts especially, and the arrangement pleasing and easy to follow.

There is a temptation to wonder, perhaps somewhat impishly, what Dr. Burmester would think about the injunction, in the Ethiopic "Contendings of the Apostles," given by Peter and Andrew to the people of Gâhlèyâ, to baptize themselves. ("Let the people . . . go down into the water, and plunge themselves therein three times, saying: we are baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.")

But such frivolous thoughts give place, before this admirable study, to heartfelt gratefulness, that in these days there are still to be found scholars of repute who are willing to devote themselves to research into these glorious Liturgies, so that we may be better enabled to understand, not merely their origin, but their spirit.

"The thought of man shall praise Thee, and the rest of his thought keep holiday before Thee." (Coptic Liturgy.)

DOMINIC DE TURVILLE.

La Théologie de l'Eglise de Saint Irénée au concile de Nicée. By G. Bardy. (Collection "Unam Sanctam" 14.) Editions du Cerf. Blackfriars Publications, about 20s. pp. 348.

M. Bardy's latest contribution to the admirable series of studies on the Church "Unam Sanctam" will be of very great value to all who wish to study the vitally important subject of the doctrine of the Church in that later pre-Nicene period which was marked by great and permanently significant developments in Church life and organization and the appearance of the first great theologians. It is intended primarily as a work of historical theology, but M. Bardy rightly pays a great deal of attention to the life of the Church and the development of Her institutions as well as to the expressed thought of the theologians: this is particularly necessary in dealing with a period when, as he says, the theology of the Church was "plus vécue que pensée, plus réalisée que systématisée." He deals therefore with the organization of the heretical sects and the Church's reaction to them, with the development of the episcopate and the Papacy, with the appearance of grades of authority among bishops leading at the end of his period to the full metropolitan organization, and with the first signs of the emergence of the great patriarchates. In his first chapter perhaps the most interesting observation which he makes is that on the change in organization of the heretical sects. The early heretics, the Gnostics, resembled in their organization the philosophical schools or theosophist cult-brotherhoods of the contemporary pagan world rather than the Church: but from the time of Marcion and the Montanists we find real counter-Churches, organized on the model of the Catholic Church: to appreciate the significance of this we need to remember that the Church was an entirely new and unprecedented form of society in the Graeco-Roman world.

M. Bardy's second chapter is devoted to three notable theologians of very different types, St. Hippolytus of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, and provides an excellent summary and critical appreciation of their thought about the Church: the account of the deep and magnificent theology of Origen is particularly well done and of very great interest and value. The last two chapters are mainly devoted to the subject, very relevant at the present day, especially for those who are concerned about the reunion of Christians in the Catholic Church, of local Churches and the Church Universal. Chapter iii, on the great crisis of the third century, contains

a long discussion of the attitude of St. Cyprian which is a model of sane and objective patristic study. M. Bardy makes it perfectly clear, at least so it seems to the present reviewer, that St. Cyprian opposed the Catholic doctrine of the Papacy and did in fact teach very much the sort of atomic episcopalianism or episcopal congregationalism of which he has been claimed by Anglican scholars as the patron. On the other hand, M. Bardy of course is not himself impressed by St. Cyprian's not very impressive thought on this matter and clearly shows the superiority, and the probably wider acceptance in the contemporary Christian world, of the Roman tradition as expounded by the Popes who were St. Cyprian's contemporaries. In the present reviewer's youth he read, without much profit, a good deal of Anglican-Roman controversy in the course of which the Catholic scholars and controversialists were sometimes led astray by the rather undiscriminating appeal of their opponents to "the Fathers" or "the early Church" and involved themselves in unconvincing harmonizations. It would have curtailed the controversy considerably, with advantages to truth and charity, if they had shown the same objectivity as M. Bardy in particular cases, at the same time making perfectly clear that the Catholic appeal to the Fathers or to antiquity is an appeal only within the Church, not to some norm outside and superior to the Church. The final test of whether any doctrine is an authentic and integral part of Tradition, of the Divine teaching of the Church, or simply a human opinion is to be found precisely in the dogmatic definitions of the Church. It is therefore futile to attempt to appeal from the Church to any Father, or group of Fathers, or to the predominant theological opinion of any past period, however traditionally venerable. The traditional teaching of course has always been there, as M. Bardy shows admirably in this particular case in his study of the third century Papacy; but in any period it may happen that the most eminent and vocal representatives of contemporary theology are opposed to doctrines which the definitions of the infallible *magisterium* finally show to be the true Tradition.

The last chapter of M. Bardy's book contains a very useful survey of developments just before the Council of Nicaea and the legislation of that Council, with particular reference to the growth of differentiation between the authority of bishops which led to the emergence of metropolitan sees and eventually of the older patriarchates (Jerusalem and Con-

stantinople are of course post-Nicene and the Byzantine theory of the Five Patriarchates is a late and rather artificial development). The book is completed by valuable tables of citations from Scripture, pagan writers and the Fathers as well as an index.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Commentaire sur Daniel. Hippolyte. Introduction de Gustave Bardy. Texte établi et traduit par Maurice Lefèvre (Collection Sources Chrétiennes Lubac et Danielou, Editions du Cerf Paris. p. 404; pr. ?)

The Greek text of this edition of Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel is based on the one established in 1897 by G. Nathanael Bonwetsch for the Berlin *Corpus*, except where the reading of some Greek fragments as found in the MS. 573 of Meteores Convent (X cent.) and edited in *Texte und Untersuchungen* Bd. XXXVIII. H.I. seemed preferable. The French translation is made on the thus established text. Chapters wanting or lines illegible in the original Greek have been supplied from the Slavonic text according to Bonwetsch's German translation. The book is well printed and there are few mistakes in either the Greek text or French translation, which, by the way, is very readable and fluent.

The book begins with sixty pages from the learned pen of Gustave Bardy, who, after stressing the importance of Hippolytus' writings because they go back to the very beginnings of the third century, gives us a most enlightening introduction to Hippolytus' *Commentary on Daniel*. It was written about 202-04 A.D., to pacify the minds of many Christians who about this time were expecting the second coming of Christ. Like Hippolytus' *Treatise on Antichrist* it was a work written for the occasion.

Hippolytus as exegete holds that Holy Scripture is above human traditions and its prophecies far above mythologies, visions and old women tales, and that one ought to read it carefully and investigate its real meaning. His commentary is that of a historian, a moralizer and an allegorist.

As an historian Hippolytus is not very critical; he does not look for original sources, but relies on earlier historiographers and his chronology is rather confused. His interpretation of Daniel's prophecies follows the tradition inaugurated by Josephus and continued by the Fathers.

As moralist he teaches that trust in God, when persecution rages and one is faced with martyrdom, is a surer way to

heaven than a miraculously prolonged life like that of Daniel. Christians should stand firm in their faith for the glory of the Church and as an example to the world. They should be courageous and look forward to the glorious resurrection; and although the "parusia" will not be at hand before another 300 years, they should always be ready to meet Christ, for nobody knows for certain when he will come. He also exhorts them to ask God for the grace of not being present at those last dreadful days. It is disputed whether Hippolytus was a Millenarist, but nothing in this Commentary shows that he was.

His moral teaching is not systematic but given at intervals in his running commentary, when Daniel's text gives him an opportunity for doing so.

As allegorist Hippolytus bases his interpretation on the letter of the Bible text as found in the Roman Church: problems of textual criticism do not concern him and he blames those who dare to change the scriptural text under the pretence of correcting it. He would however not be a man of his time if he had remained indifferent to the exigencies of the allegorical interpretation, and he applies it almost to every detail of any story when possible, but he does not substitute it for the historical interpretation, recognizing as he does the historical value of the biblical narrative. But he goes too far when he introduces the symbolism of numbers into chronological computations. Finally M. Bardy says a few words on Hippolytus' theology. There is no theological speculation in the commentary. Hippolytus' faith is simply that of the Church, and attached as he is to the current teaching, it is rather surprising that he should have fallen into schism (of which however he ultimately repented and died a martyr). He dismisses all private revelations, but has great esteem for intellectual knowledge as applied to revealed truth. But when applying it to the interpretation of Holy Scripture he holds that the preacher or teacher needs the help of the Holy Spirit, and, even the faithful who listen to him must have a share in the same charisma. Hippolytus speaks with authority, convinced that he has both that knowledge and the charisma.

God's existence is his fundamental dogma. God is omnipotent but always acts with wisdom and providence. Hippolytus' christology is remarkable. For him the Verbum—like the Aramaic Memra—was present in the Old Testament Theophanies and is the "Angel of the Lord." As

to the Incarnate Word he stresses the reality of both his Divinity and Humanity, his superiority to the Angels, his virginal Birth and his Redemptive work (in all this he is a faithful disciple of Saint Irenæus). Christ is the perfect priest who alone accomplishes the will of the Father; He is the Father's equal though second to Him. The Holy Spirit is the inspirer of Holy Scripture and especially of the Prophets, etc. He comforts the martyrs, and is given in the unction of baptism. On the Holy Spirit's relation with the Father and the Son he does not enlighten us. He has many things to say of how the devil's activity in the world opposes that of the Holy Spirit and how God's power reduces it.

These few lines, based on G. Bardy's introduction, show that M. Lefèvre was well inspired to give us the Greek text with translation of this biblical commentary, the earliest so far discovered, and to have it prefaced by the erudite and valuable introduction of M. G. Bardy. The text is not overloaded with footnotes and those that are given are concise and to the point. The book will be welcomed by both professors and students of patrology, and by anyone who is interested in Early Church History.

DOM LUKE WILLEMS.

Lettres à Sérapion. By Athanasius of Alexandria. Introduction and translation by J. Lebon. Editions du Cerf.

One Egyptian writes to another on the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Athanasius of Alexandria to Serapion of Thmuis. His occasion is the rise of the "Tropic" heresy. Men claiming to be orthodox Christians and enemies of the Arians are openly denying that the Spirit is God. They are called *τροπικοί* because of their fondness for the word "trope," a figure of speech, a way of turning scriptural quotations to their own advantage. They are out at all costs to prove that the Spirit is a creature. But two can play that game. St. Athanasius "turns" the texts back to their natural meaning. Although here and there a modern scripture scholar might question his interpretation (for example, the text in Genesis concerning "the Spirit of God moving over the waters"—St. Chrysostom's comment on this text is interesting), the fact remains that St. Athanasius shows himself an abler exegete than his opponents. Do they claim to be enemies of the Arian heretics? They are using the very same terms and taunts as the Arians. Do they posit a substantial difference between the Spirit and the other two Persons of

the Trinity? They are betraying their affinity with, or their descent from, the Arians. Of course this is an *argumentum ad hominem*. We are surprised that St. Athanasius does not assert anywhere that the Spirit is God, θεός. (Should the accent on θεός be grave or acute? The lexicons say acute, the N.T. as well as the Liturgical books give it a grave accent.) We have become so familiar with the Augustinian theory of the Holy Trinity, as to overlook an older, a deeper and a more Pauline idea: shall we say, a more Greek, and, radically, a more Hebrew idea—ο θεός is the Principle of the Godhead (St. Bernard in the twelfth century speaks of the *Principalis Persona*), ο θεός is God the Father. St. Athanasius is right, then, when he considers it sufficient to demonstrate to the Tropics that the Spirit is no creature, but is One with the Father and the Son—a Trinity not a Dyad (we suspect that he said *Triad*, not Trinity)—“y a-t-il Trinité ou dyade? S'il y a dyade, comptez alors l'Esprit avec les créatures! Mais, étant telle, votre croyance ne va pas à un seul Dieu, qui est au-dessus de tous et par tous et en tous!”

These words we have quoted from M. le chanoine Lebon's translation (the Greek text not being given in this edition) make clear two things: the forcefulness of St. Athanasius, and the fact that it is possible to translate patristic Greek into good French.

G.R.

Eastern Elements in Western Chant. Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music. By Egon Wellesz. Byzantine Institute Inc., Boston, U.S.A. Hugh Rees, London, S.W.1. pp. 212. £1 10s.

This is a book no student of ecclesiastical music can afford to neglect. For some time it has been realized that there are Eastern elements in Western chant, but as to how they got there has been very largely a matter of conjecture. In his preface Professor Egon Wellesz informs the reader that “The history of the origin and early development of music used in the various rites of Eastern and Western Churches has still to be written . . . The principal question facing every scholar who wishes to study the origins of ecclesiastical music is, of course, first, whether there is a direct connexion between Byzantine music and plainchant; secondly, if such connexion exists, whether the melodies originated in Byzantium or whether they are derived from some common

Eastern source, viz. the music of the Early Christian Churches and, further back, the chants of the Jewish liturgy of the synagogue. Lastly, if these questions can be answered affirmatively, was such an influence the only one to make itself felt, or did local pagan hymnography and religious music play its part in this development?"

He then goes on to say that these present studies now offered to the public in book form are "a modest attempt to prepare the ground for such a history, by applying to these questions for the first time the vast material collected from Byzantine musical manuscripts by the editors of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*." It should be remarked in passing that only a limited number of copies are available.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I under the title "Greek Hymns in the Mass and Office of the Western Church" deals with such subjects as the Trisagion on Good Friday, and the liturgical significance of bilingual singing. Part II is concerned with the structure of Byzantine melody, the interpretation of its notation, and the technique of its composition. It studies the special case of the Byzantine version of the Troparion "O quando in Cruce." Part III investigates early Christian and Byzantine influences in melodies of the Western Church, studies the origin of the Tract, and the Eastern origin of the "Hodie" antiphons. In Part IV early Christian and Byzantine elements in Sequences and Tropes are considered, particular attention being given to the Pre-Gregorian Alleluia and the bilingual organum "Dies sanctificatus" in the Winchester Troper.

Of considerable value to the student are the comparison between, and careful analyses of, Byzantine and plainchant melodies. Besides serving their main purpose of bringing to light the way in which Eastern elements have crept into Western chant, they throw into relief the different characteristics of the two forms of chant, and show that the Gregorian composers were no slavish imitators but men of creative genius.

The more important conclusion drawn from these studies by their author is that the Eastern influences on plainchant were not due to the Church of Constantinople, for a comparison of Byzantine and plainchant melodies makes it clear "that both were rooted in the chant of the Churches of the early Christian age, which derived partly from the chant of the Jewish Service, partly from hymns in Syriac, composed on the model of these chants and translated later on into Greek" (p. 202.)

We understand that *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (of which this is *Subsidia*, Volume II) is still published by the Danish Academy. The American series was a war emergency measure kindly undertaken by the Byzantine Institute in Boston.

DOM GREGORY BISH.

Minorities in the Arab World. By A. H. Hourani. Oxford University Press, Geoffrey Cumberledge. pp. 140. 15s.

Nationalism, the social force which in the nineteenth century grew to be almost a substitute for religion in the Christian West, has become in the twentieth century an energetic element in Arab lands, disturbing the *status quo* which was the one peaceful gift of the Ottoman Empire and the Moslem code to those lands of diverse religions and racial communities. The result has not been altogether happy, and solution can be found only if responsible statesmen and their advisers know the facts, understand their historical setting and ponder them in the light of true principles.

For this reason we welcome heartily this slim volume issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It gives the facts of minority communities in Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq: both in a general survey (Chapter i) and in detail country by country (Chapter v—xi), indicating the exact numbers, as far as these can be ascertained, and the status, educational, economical, racial and religious, of each community. Chapters ii to iv briefly recite the history of minorities in the Ottoman Empire and the successor states down to 1940 and Chapter xii brings that history up-to-date.

The specific differentiations of the minorities are race or religion, separately or in conjunction: thus there are Sunni Moslems who form distinct communities, being non-Arabic-speaking, like the Kurds, Turkomans and Circassians; there are Arabic-speaking indigenous inhabitants who are not Moslems, both Orthodox and Catholic: and there are those who neither speak Arabic nor profess the Sunni variation of Islamism like the Persian-speaking Shi'is, the Kurdish-speaking Christians, the Syriac-speaking Nestorians and Jacobites (Orthodox) and Catholic Chaldeans and Syrians, the Armenian-speaking Christians ("Gregorian" and Catholic), and Jews whose mother tongue may be Persian, Kurdish, Arabic, Neo-Hebrew, Yiddish or Old Spanish. These minorities, like geological strata, represent the impact,

cultural and linguistic, of movements covering some fourteen centuries: for as the Arabian peninsula and the neighbouring lands have always proved fertile soil for religious ideas, so the junction of the seas has been the focus of migration, tribal and individual; and the resultant differences have been preserved and strengthened by a local loyalty fostered by the region's topography.

The Ottoman Empire dealt with this complex situation not unsuccessfully by allowing a very wide measure of local autonomy to dissident Moselm communities; the "Wali," or provincial governor, exercising the Sultan's power largely through local chiefs or fendaries. Christians and Jews, as "Peoples of the Book," though outside full citizenship, were protected in the sense that they were entitled to, and apart from sporadic persecutions usually obtained, their own religious organization, "personal status,"¹ places of worship, canon law and religious endowments. The tensions set up within our lifetime by the impact of Western ideas, with the principle of individual citizenship against that of corporate responsibility are unresolved; and the ebb-and-flow of opinion, the action and counter-action of resurgent Islamism of a growing Zionism, of a new-sense of Arabic (or rather Syriac-Egyptian) solidarity, of local nationalism, and the first traces of industrial-bred socialism in the towns; these are the main topics dealt with in this factual study.

Some idea of the scale and complexity of the problem may be gathered from the fact that our author estimates the total population of the region at twenty-eight millions of whom seven and a half million are "minorities." There are two and a half million indigenous Christians, of whom by far the largest homogeneous body are the Copts, one million strong. Next come the Catholics, of seven diverse rites, numbering at least 600,000, followed by the Orthodox of the Byzantine rite, mostly of Syrian origin or birth. Other Christian groups are the Nestorian Assyrians with their Catholic counter parts the Chaldeans, the Armenians and a few congregations of Protestants. These Levantine converts and protégés of Western missionaries usually belong to different Evangelical denominations and, being unincorporated, do not form a community.

"The problem of minorities in its present form springs from the fact that majority and minorities do not fully form

¹ For an account of the actual organization of personal status in Egypt, cfr. *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VII, 3, p. 172.

a community with one another. Majority and minorities alike still remember the long period of Moslem domination, then the intervention of Europe in the nineteenth century, the use which European Powers made of minorities, and the ways in which the Ottoman Government re-acted . . . Nationalism is still entangled with religious conceptions" (p. 109). The last two chapters of the book draw tentative conclusions from the foregoing *aperçu*: constitutional and international guarantees, regulation of the "millet" system and their application to certain outstanding examples.

Without subscribing to the author's every opinion, we can cordially recommend this sincere and painstaking piece of real-life research on a burning modern question. The objectivity and impartiality of the writer is really admirable, his facts are detailed and can be checked, his *ensemble* most valuable for all who wish to form an enlightened view, an intelligent judgment, of the problem of minorities in Arab lands. Let us conclude with a quotation which will admirably illustrate the author's mental approach:—

"In the long run," he says, "there is only one way in which the problem of minorities can be solved: majority and minorities must form a 'community' with one another, must learn to respect and trust one another, and on the basis of trust and respect work together for common ends. There must be what M. Maritain has called 'fellowship' between them. This does not mean that the differences between them will completely disappear, for unity does not necessarily mean uniformity; nor does it mean that minorities cannot retain their own organization and loyalties for certain purposes. It means that both majority and minorities must be conscious that their loyalties and duties do not stop at the limits of their racial or religious groups, and that every human community must, if it would avoid falling into mortal sin, make itself the servant of something higher than itself" (p. 119.)

"How can this . . . be brought into existence? Clearly it cannot be created through a denial of oneself and of one's beliefs and loyalties, and by attempting to find a common minimum of truth or of custom on which all can agree. Differences cannot be transcended by being denied but only by being absorbed into a deeper and more complete unity. The basis of 'good fellowship' . . . is not of the order of intellect and ideas, but of the heart and of love. It is mutual love in God and of God which alone can open the heart to the love of all men" (p. 125.)

Would that every Ambassador and Legation chief, every Commisar and Secretary of State, every priest and sheik and rabbi, were compelled to learn those sentences by heart. I intend to do so myself!

DOM THOMAS RIGBY.

The Redemption of Israel. By John Friedman. Sheed and Ward. (New York.) pp. 139. \$2.

This little book, dedicated to our Lady of Sion, is written by a Jewish convert to the Catholic Church in order, the author tells us, "to demonstrate to Israel its final goal and absolute end." The demonstration proceeds in a systematic way: three epochs (Egyptian, Babylonian and Universal), each divided into three phases (sin, punishment, salvation), give us "the key to the providential interpretation of Israel's history" from Abraham to our times. Israel "set up as a wall of the church and for the succour of mankind" constitutes the ultimate goal.

The author's intentions are excellent and, even if his theological interpretation of history may be open to question in details, a Christian cannot but sympathize with his general views on the vocation of the Jewish people. But the treatment of the *de facto* Judaism is very defective and sometimes inaccurate. Of the important movements; Neo-Orthodoxy, Reconstructionism, Hasidism nothing is said; the name of Martin Buber, if we are not mistaken, is not even mentioned; Reformed Judaism and Liberal Judaism are wrongly identified.

The author seems to have no knowledge and certainly shows no appreciation of the spiritual treasures contained in rabbinic literature, in the synagogue liturgy and in the Jewish tradition of prayer. To speak of the missions to the Jews without mentioning the great Protestant effort in that direction is, to say the least, very surprising.

The appendix on Bergson could be suppressed without any loss! The present reviewer knew Bergson personally and studied under him and can assure the author that most of its content, from the historical and psychological standpoint, is misleading.

With the necessary corrections and additions the book may be interesting and useful to Catholic readers who cannot get at the works of experts.

L.G.

Pontificia Nipponica. Part I. Sixteenth to eighteenth century.
 Leo Magnino. *Officium Libri Catholici, Bibliotheca
 Missionalis No. 5, Roma.* pp. 183.

This work publishes the full text of every document sent by the Holy See not only to bishops and missionaries working in the country but to anyone concerned with Japan including rulers of European countries trading there. This first part covering the time from St. Francis Xavier to the eighteenth century is to be followed by another from the nineteenth century down to our own times. The pontifical documents are given verbatim in their original Latin but the author adds in Italian a great deal of information concerning contemporary events connected with each. The whole work is intended to supply material for anyone working not only on the history of the Church in Japan but even of Japan itself: for, it was through the Church at that time that Japan received its first impact from Western civilization and culture. Indeed, the documents afford many quaint glimpses into the ways of men working both for and against the spread of God's kingdom out East. The book is well printed on good paper with ample bibliography and list of documents.

D.X.

*Pour l'Unité Visible des Eglises Chrétiennes Selon les Volontés
 de Jesus Christ.* Librairie Saint Paul, Harissa (Lebanon).

1947. pp. x+150.

The name of the author of this booklet is not given. The work has the imprimatur of the Melkite Metropolitan of Beyrouth, Mgr. Maximos Saigh. It bears the sub-title of *Petit Manuel Doctrinal de l'Unioniste* and is one of a series—*Les amis de l'Union*, published in Arabic and French by the Greek Catholic Missionaries of St. Paul.

The book is divided into three parts: the general problem of the Union of the Christian Churches and the Ecumenical Movement, the special problems concerning the Roman and Orthodox Churches, and the divine call to and prayer for Unity. An appendix expounds the spiritual principles and constitution of the *Association Spirituelle des amis de l'Union*. There are several reproductions of eikons (some of them rather modern).

The book has mainly a practical character, it is a guide for the unionist apostolate. It contains a good deal of accurate, though elementary, historical information. From a theological standpoint it is a remarkable popularization of

the best unionist thought and literature from the West (viz., *Irenikon*, Congar, Gouturier). It perhaps takes a simplified and over-optimistic view of the problems and their solution. There is a complete absence of polemics, the tone throughout is friendly.

A great deal of emphasis is laid on the words of our Lord and on the supernatural factors—the Eucharist, the Blessed Virgin, grace in daily life.

This fruit (and indeed one of the first fruits) of a new unionist effort in the Middle East, a region of which the most conspicuous feature was hardly ecclesiastical irenism, deserves our attention and thankfulness.

A MONK OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

Heritage of Byzantium. By Marcu Beza. S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.
pp. 103.

Doctor Dvornik has brought home to us the truth that Eastern Christianity has always enjoyed free access to the treasures of Hellenic culture as a part of its inheritance. This is illustrated, and delightfully illustrated, by Marcu Beza in this book. In fact it is the underlying theme that give a unity to an otherwise scattered collection of essays.

The range of these papers is indeed widespread. The four concern Palestine, two others are on Cyprus, Patmos, Athos, Tanina, Athens, the monasteries of the Meteora, Rhodes, Mount Sinai all get there share of description and comment that gives the reader a store of information. The last seven chapters deal with Orthodoxy in the Balkans.

There are sixteen excellent illustrations.

B.W.

Christian Education: (The Bampton Lectures, 1944). By Dr. Spencer Leeson. Longmans. pp. xvi+258.

This little book may be read with pleasure and profit by all interested in the subject of education. The author although compressing an enormous amount of material into a small space is never heavy or dull. He contrives to give in his eight lectures something like a study of the whole meaning of education, a brief history of it in this country, and a thoughtful treatment of the main administrative problems and controversies arising from the teaching of religion in our schools today. Dr. Leeson writes without prejudice of the Catholic position, and recognizes the justice of the Catholic claims in the recent dispute over the dual system.

On the other hand he claims that the main Anglican position of acceptance of the 1944 Act was the wise one, since if the Act had been successfully fought, by the religious bodies, they would have suffered for it in the future: such good terms would never have been offered again. We may recognize that there is some force in this argument, while pointing out that in effect it leaves most of the fighting for justice to the Catholic body and that section of the Anglicans who supported them, while leaving the fruits of the battle and a graceful reputation for moderation to the main Anglican body to which Dr. Leeson belongs. From a religious point of view his position differs from the Catholic one as the Anglican always will, in his ability to consider accommodated forms of religious teaching as at any rate partially satisfactory. There lies too behind his writing what the Catholic always finds so difficult to understand—the claim of the teaching authority of the Church combined with an equally strong sense of the “sanctity of private belief.” But as an exposé of all that is best in our educational inheritance—with some plain words about the dangers internal and external that beset it—Dr. Leeson’s book may be highly commended.

D.J.P.

A Rosary Chain. By Sister Mary Dominic, O.P. Blackfriars Publications, Oxford. pp. 40. 5s. 6d.

This, at least, shows that real craft is still with us. The book is produced on handmade paper, handset and printed at the Ditchling Press.

As something made it is a beautiful thing; as something for us to use its source and fount is holy Scripture, the Word of God, and there is also the fruit of contemplation of mind and heart—all should help us to refresh our own devotion to the Rosary.

K.F.E.W.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Harvard University Press (London, Geoffrey Cumberlege) :
The Russian Religious Mind. By George P. Fedotov.

Faber and Faber : *The Authority of the Old Testament.* By A. G. Hebert.

Geoffrey Bles : *The Russian Idea.* By Nicolas Berdyaev.

S.C.M. Press : *The Anglican Tradition in the life of England.* By A. T. P. Williams.

Blackfriars Publications : *The Inside of the Cup.* By F. Valentine, O.P. *Christ Consciousness.* By A. Gardeil, O.P. *With Father Vincent at Marble Arch.* By E. A. Siderman. *Like as the Hart.* By St Augustine.

Les Editions du Cerf, Paris : *Traité des Mystères.* Par Hilaire de Poitiers, Jean-Paul Brisson. *Homélies sur L'Exode.* Par Origène, P. Fortier, S.J. *Rome et La Russie.* Par Michel de Taube.

Editions Charles Beyaert, Bruges : *Les Psaumes et les Cantiques.* Texte français de D. van der Walter. *Petite, Introduction a l'Etude des Pères,* Par D. Gorce.

George Allen and Unwin : *Byzantine Legacy.* By Cecil Stewart.

Editions Lyra Dei, Paris : *L'Ecole Neo-Solesmienne De Chant Grégorien ; Le Chant Grégorien.* Par Dom De Malherbe.

The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, U.S.A. : *The Christian Churches of the East.* Vol. 1. By Donald Attwater.